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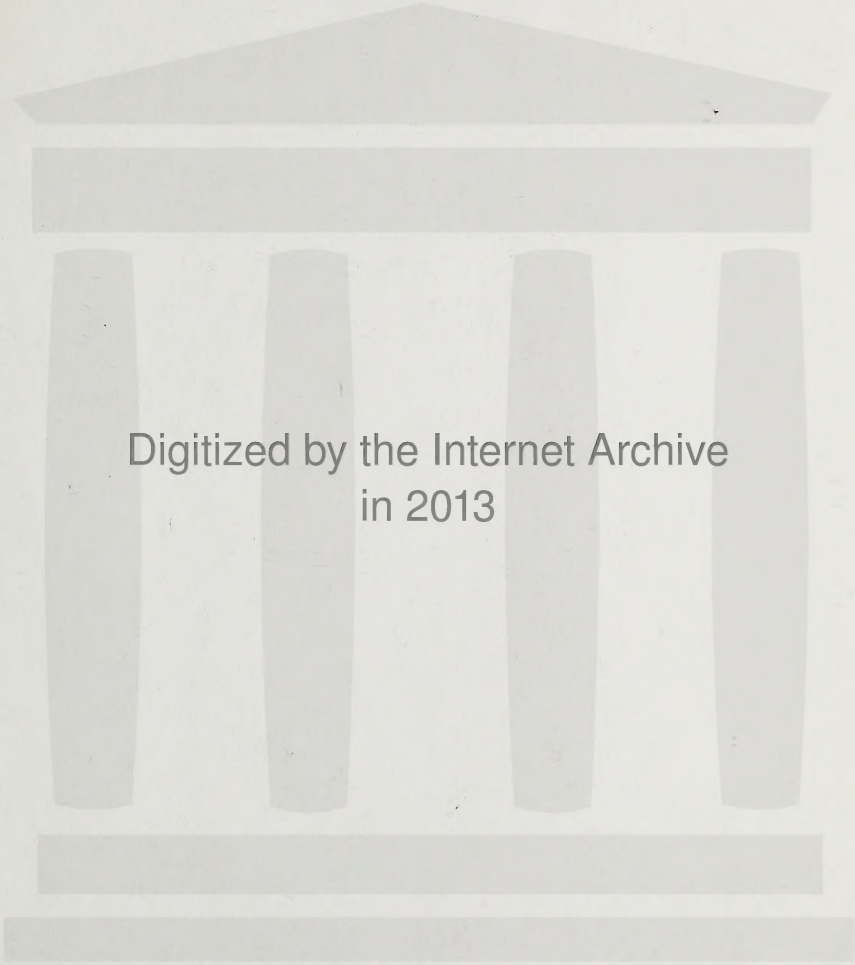
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THE
METHODIST REVIEW

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GEORGE ELLIOTT
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WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Bishop EARL CRANSTON, D.D., LL.D., who was resident bishop of the Washington Area 1904-16, is certainly the one best qualified to portray that modern saint, Dr. Goucher.

JAMES ALLEN GEISSINGER, D.D., pastor of the White Temple, Anaheim, Cal., is the author of the *Democracy of Methodism* and other works.

JOHN ROBERT VAN PELT, Ph.D., who has for years furnished the Foreign Outlook for the METHODIST REVIEW, has recently accepted a professorship in the Gammon Theological Seminary, South Atlanta, Ga.

PAUL HUTCHINSON, who was Centenary Secretary at Shanghai, China, author of *The Spread of Christianity*, is now connected with the publicity department of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.

H. OSBORNE RYDER, A.M., Ph.D., is professor of Latin and Greek in Hamline University, Saint Paul, Minn.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM, D.D., professor in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal., is author of many valuable works, the latest being *Religion as Experience*.

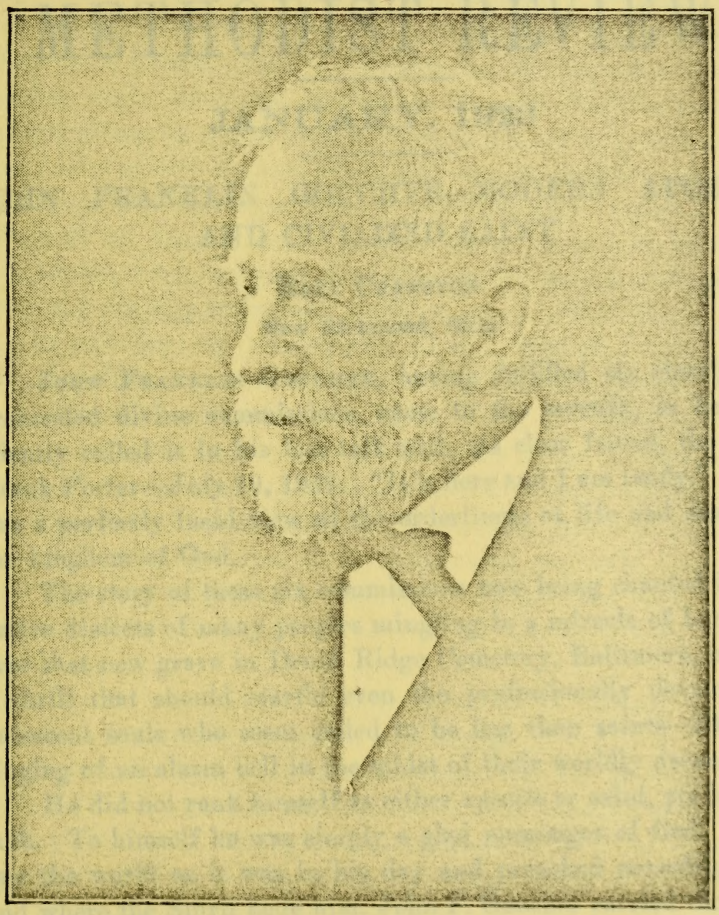
JESSE S. DANCEY, D.D., did distinguished religious service in our army during the great war. He is now pastor of the Court Street Methodist Church, Rockford, Ill.

Mr. WINFRED RHOADES, a layman, resides at Lunenburg, Mass.

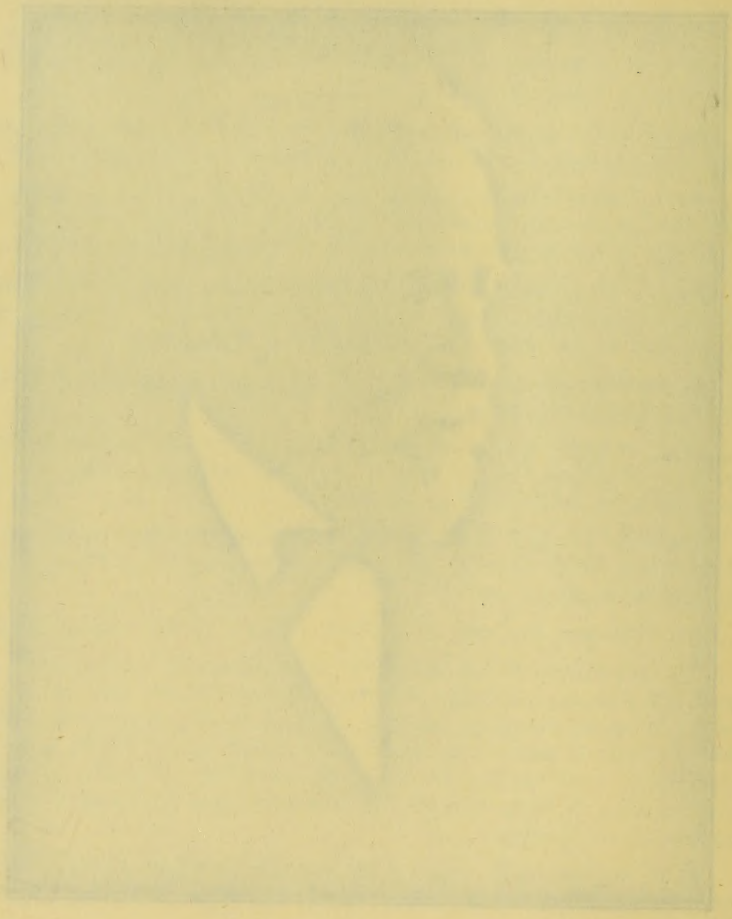
The next three names should be well known to our readers: The great Old Testament scholar, Professor EDWARD KÖNIG, D.D., of the University of Bonn, Germany, the Rev. WILLIAM L. STIDGER, of Saint Mark's Church, Detroit, Mich., who successfully specializes in inducing his congregation to read books, and EDWIN LEWIS, S.T.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, who discusses the central problem of all theology.

C. H. SHIRK, Ph.D., D.D., pastor of the Emanuel Church, Philadelphia, Pa., has done much social service work in connection with the Y. M. C. A.

J. F. SPRINGER, who contributes a brief paper to the department of Biblical Research, is a member of the American Oriental Society and specialist in textual criticism.



John F. Goucher,



METHODIST REVIEW

JANUARY, 1923

JOHN FRANKLIN GOUCHER—MODERN APOSTLE AND CIVILIZED SAINT

EARL CRANSTON

New Richmond, Ohio

JOHN FRANKLIN GOUCHER, having fulfilled six clearly apprehended divine commissions, came to the seventh, as he confidently called it in his last talk with his close friend, the Rev. Frank Porter—July 19, 1922. "It is here and I am ready." That was a perfectly lucid view of the orderliness of life and death in the kingdom of God.

The story of those six commissions now being chanted in the native dialects of many peoples mingling in a miracle of harmony over that new grave in Druid Ridge Cemetery, Baltimore, carries a thrill that should startle even the professionally devout and quiescent souls who seem called to be less than saints—like the ringing of an alarm bell in the midst of their worldly dreams.

He did not rank himself as either apostle or saint, yet he was both. To himself he was simply a glad messenger of God. Paul saw the world as it was in his day and preached accordingly as and where the Spirit bade him. John F. Goucher carried the same gospel, tried in the crucible of many generations, to the rescue of a vaster world than Paul knew, a world as desperately entangled in its so-called civilization and murky ecclesiasticism as Paul's world had been in pagan superstitions and blind Judaism. He found religions whose saints needed civilizing, and an evangelism unequal to the task, even though Luther and John Wesley had in their day done their glorious parts.

Possibly modern Protestantism does not realize its need of saints, but living saints are the working capital of the church and are too rare to be unrecognized when they appear. Methodism may fancy that with its inheritance in Saint John the founder and Saint Francis the pioneer it is rich enough for all time, but think of a British premier pleading for the neglected grave of Wesley while American Methodism dazedly stumbles toward a modest memorial of the zeal of Francis Asbury! It is true that every saint models his own monument, but the churches must have fresh examples and know them at sight—or die. Spiritual vitamines do not keep in moldy prayer closets. It is with sainthood —a human word—as with theologies; styles change with generations and varying ecclesiastic pedigree, every religious cult evolving its own type as the centuries go by. But above all human and, therefore, transient authorities and experts in holiness there is the Eternal Modern, the Ancient of Days. He alone is able to fit crowns to the heads of his immortals. From his lips flamed across all the ages the one all-inclusive test of sainthood, for time and for eternity unchangeable: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind, and strength; and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." All the law and all the prophets, all of earth and of heaven, the one open road to life everlasting!

There is your saint, ancient, mediaeval, or modern, whether canonized, burned, or thrown to wild beasts.

Before this basic law of the human soul the decrees of infallibly fallible councils and hierarchies, the involved reasonings of the philosophies, the mystical imaginings of the cults, and—let Protestants take note—the schismatic accentuation of the merely incidental in the aspects of discipleship to the dividing of the body of believers, are but passing winds blowing across the desert of mortal woes and burying the souls of men in dunes of doubt and despair.

And here I write John Franklin Goucher as a typical saint of the Christian dispensation, and by the same standard a wholly civilized man. Believing God, walking with God, talking with God, living only in God, he filled the sphere of the best saints of

old. Loving his neighbor as himself, in the best Christian sense, he measured to the stature of civilized citizenship in the republic of humanity—which means the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven. I speak thus confidently after thirty-eight years of personal observation of this God-centered soul, twelve of which years were enriched by the most intimate communion in which his mind and heart were as an open book of clear print. No allurement enticed him, no antagonism unbalanced him, no reverse dismayed him, no attack on his lines confused him, no treachery angered him, no hostile shaft pierced his armor of perfect calm—which I suppose is another way of saying that he seemed entirely unburdened of self or self-interest. Without guile or cant, he was so utterly and consciously God's man that he could instantly disentangle self from any untoward event in the outcome of his plans. "It is God's work, and he will take care of it"—that was the quiet dismissal of the matter. Thus, with self out of the reckoning of results, his vision was clearer, his way more open, and his steps firmer as he went steadily forward even in the face of disheartening conditions. Hence, *he* never boasted of what *God* had achieved through his means or by his hands.

Let the record tell its own story: John Franklin Goucher began to make the world happier June 7, 1845, when he came to the home of John and Eleanor Townsend Goucher at Waynesburg, Pa. His father, a prosperous physician, gave the boy the best educational advantages available, so that at the age of twenty-three years he graduated from Dickinson College as Bachelor of Arts. Other befitting because well-earned degrees came to him later. Bowing in deep conviction at a Methodist altar in Monongahela, Pa., in his early teens, and praying out of the simple yearnings of his young heart, he said to God: "If you will forgive my sins I will do whatever you ask with the greatest pleasure." "Will you preach the gospel?" voiced the Holy Spirit within. "Anything you ask of me," was the ready answer. Then peace came and a deep joy. Thenceforward he was at one with God.

A thoughtful boy, he became a thinking man. He ended his early battle with rationalism by what he *knew* of God and his way

of wonder working. "Believe your beliefs and doubt your doubts," became the armor of his religious life. His missionary instinct was active for his fellows in school and college. True to his consecration vow, he entered the Baltimore Conference the year following his graduation, taking appointment as a junior preacher on circuit work. Of his fifty-three years of active ministry twenty-one years were given to the pastorate—years of soul-saving, founding, building, transforming, advancing every material and spiritual interest committed to his care, and culminating in the great constructive enterprise that rehabilitated the pioneer City Station and served as the architectural herald of a new and far more comprehensive evangelizing program already taking shape in his active brain. To him Christian education was an indispensable adjunct to successful evangelism.

In God's Christmas distributions of 1877 he gave to Pastor Goucher, then in his thirty-third year, Mary Cecilia Fisher to be wife and veritable helpmate in the greater tasks that yet awaited him. She was possessed of an ample fortune, for that day, a superior education, and best of all a heart in perfect sympathy with her husband's conceptions of their duty to God and the world. It became at once their joint delight to plan and carry forward a progressive program of stewardship rarely equaled by individual consecration. Opportunity was not long delayed. It was in 1883 that a crisis of prosperity, the first of its kind in the church's missionary operations in India, found the Missionary Society without funds to gather in the harvest of twenty-five years' faithful missionary effort in one of the North India provinces.

Doctor Parker came to New York to solicit help, but had very limited success. Discerning their opportunity, the Goucher syndicate of faith at once guaranteed support for more than one hundred village schools for boys (and of various grades) to be taught in the vernacular of the province. The immediate result was the crystallizing of the favorable sentiment already secured among the people. The ultimate results will never be enumerated. Out of those schools came the teachers, preachers, and leaders whose children are now the "backbone of our church in

the north and northwest provinces," says Dr. Rockey. Later the Goucher treasury supported one hundred of the brightest boys chosen from these local schools to attend the Moradabad Mission School. Their converts, running into the third generation, are numbered by many thousands whose future guides are now in college and theological seminary. "It was just the impetus needed to save the planting of our missionary fathers," say the missionaries of to-day. And now the church can hardly keep pace with the mass movement crowding her altars in India!

In the year following this initial undertaking in India the General Missionary Committee, in session in New York, was startled by the voice of a new member proposing a large conditional gift to found a mission in Korea—the condition being that the church should assume the care of the same. The treasury was low, the courage of the committee already overdrawn. The home missionary element (only one general committee then) were dismayed at the proposition. But the voice pleaded and when the voting came the Goucher stewardship had founded the Korea Mission. Of course he built a school that has trained many teachers and preachers of native stock.

Later followed the remarkable West China venture of faith with no less marvelous results, the Anglo-Japanese College in Tokyo, which he built on land purchased by himself and wife—as was the case also at Chentu—and all these institutions enjoyed his care to the last. Meanwhile what were the means and energies of this praying and giving combination accomplishing at home?

There was no touch of romance or of glamour back of the founding of the Woman's College of Baltimore. It was the answer to a "commission direct from God" to go about the doing of what appeared an impossible thing, what they knew would be an unwelcome thing in the city of Baltimore and beyond, and therefore a very expensive and soul-trying venture for themselves. The situation had been thoroughly canvassed and the project set forth in all its bearings before both the educators and business circles of the city, and it had been frowned upon with disheartening unanimity by both classes as impracticable and sure to fail because

"neither the money required nor the high grade of students contemplated could be secured in the South," they declared. Nor would even one of the half dozen girls' schools in Baltimore agree to extend its course sufficiently to fit its graduates for entering the proposed college of high grade. So far from being surprised or confused at this rebuff, it was received—Doctor Goucher wrote in later years—as a "compelling demonstration of the necessity" of just such a school for the city of Baltimore and the country south. So, as he adds, with "only *an ideal, a purpose, and a firm belief in a divine commission,*" the college was launched in 1888 after five years of preparation in ground, building and equipment, chiefly financed by this devoted household—who also built their city home near by, the better to observe and cherish this ambitious offspring of their prophetic inspiration. The college stood so broad-based on its unsectarian foundation that its genuine Christian atmosphere proved no barrier but an attraction rather to the students of all faiths and of no faith. They were soon coming faster than they could be cared for. It was inevitable that such an institution should outgrow the resources of its founders; but by the time its most desperate crisis came (1913) it was too big to die. The story of its rescue must wait a bit while we look into the home life of those heralds of a new era. Three daughters had come to their arms before the call (1902) that removed the wife and mother from the happy circle. For her the passing was the crowning of a saint. For the husband it was, beyond all the agony of their parting, God's call to double responsibility in caring for all they had planned and planted together. For the young daughters it was the enshrining of her self-sacrificing life amid the supreme motives of their own lives. For all who knew her gentleness and gracious ministries in every relation of life it was the setting of an inextinguishable light in the sky above them, showing the way into the heavens.

Six years later Doctor Goucher, then beyond three score years, and over-burdened with cares of administration, resigned the presidency of the Woman's College after twenty years of gratuitous service in that office, during which incumbency he had stood calmly under the annual deficits until the life of the college

was assured. In accepting his resignation the trustees elected him President Emeritus, and a little later, without his consent, by unanimous vote the name "Goucher College" was substituted for "Woman's College of Baltimore," in fitting recognition of the heroic sacrificial services of Dr. and Mrs. Goucher in its founding and maintenance. Thenceforward it was "Goucher College" that was in peril and that name was fragrant throughout Christendom.

China to the rescue! Five years later the trustees sent forth the cry for help. (I am writing here from memory.) Then it was that the one church which had been invited into charter relations by its founders, and which had been gathering both honors and substance by their unparalleled investments in both missions and Christian education, first seemed to feel the challenge—for the protection of its own interests and of its good name, as well—to bestir itself both to relieve the college of the debt entailed by its prosperity and to add a million dollars to its endowment. Bishops, editors, and Eastern leaders, especially, were moved to vigorous action. The daily press of Baltimore also had a vision of the city's interest that came near being twenty-five years too late. Plainly, it was not for Doctor Goucher, then nearing seventy, to lead a campaign, yet a leader there must be to crystallize and consolidate the growing sentiment for deliverance. Strange to say, it was China that supplied the providential leader. Bishop Lewis, then in America on financial duty, was about returning to his post in China, where Bishop Bashford anxiously awaited his coming. He was the man for the task, and he felt the imperative urge of that sentiment in the board of trustees and among his American colleagues. Details cannot be written here. Bishop Bashford bade him stay for the work to which, *for China's sake,* they both gave precedence over their own program. Both knew what continuous drafts had been made by the amazing development of the Goucher plants in China, Korea, and Japan, and both realized that Goucher College must not be allowed to fail with Asia looking on. It was as Dr. Frank Gamewell put it to me in 1899, when he came limping late into a far-from-the-railroad mission station to escort me back to Peking. His bicycle was minus a pedal and he had walked

and trailed the wheel for fifteen miles. When I asked why he had not hired a mule to carry him, he answered promptly: "I would not allow the Chinese to see that any American contrivance could break down."

The first move of Bishop Lewis was characteristic. Very few persons knew he was in Baltimore holding limited prayer meetings (only one person besides himself at each meeting) when the thrilling challenge was announced that five of the trustees would stand for $60,000 each, assuring one-fifth of the sum required, if the other four-fifths were secured. On that basis, with Doctor Goucher heading the noble five, the rally proceeded to a successful issue. Of all that immortal group—Bashford, Lewis, Goucher, Bennett, Carroll, Baldwin and Dulaney—only the last two now remain. The business men of Baltimore, the alumnæ and the Annual Conferences entitled to elect trustees came enthusiastically into the campaign, besides bishops and hundreds of leading laymen and progressive women throughout the church.

Thus at the end of twenty-five years *"the ideal, the purpose, and the divine commission"* to go forward were triumphantly vindicated *under distinctively providential leadership.* And what a vindication that was!

Then came the gift of the Goucher home to the college, the family, by request of the trustees, retaining possession during the lifetime of the donor.

And let it be here remembered that through all these wonderfully constructive years in Asia Doctor Goucher had been no less devoted to the higher training of the Negro race at home. To Morgan College and its feeders outside the city, he was more than a mere contributor. Trustee for forty-two years, and president of the board thirty-nine years, he was its ever accessible and reliable defensive and aggressive friend and promoter, sharing in all the perplexities of its administration and planning largely for its future development. The Negro holds his name in reverence.

Almost every pen sketch of his career has emphasized his unaffected modesty in council, even after he must have become conscious of the influence of his judgment. His convictions were as definite as they were fixed when once formed, because God was

always a party in their forming. The stronger, therefore, was his orderly array of facts and reasons in their support. It was his way to assume that others spoke with no less honesty and conscientious preparation. Nor was this a diplomatic pretense; it was in the line of his civilized judgment of his brethren, and it was but one feature of his reward therefor that if the decision went against him he was not left floundering among the wreckage of assumed infallibility—a fate that is sure to overtake the self-confident, betimes.

Always orderly without being fussy, methodical in thought and statement without becoming a victim to formula, and intense without vociferation, Doctor Goucher was a master of lucid speech. His soul was so centered in the divine source of all wisdom that he was never beset by intellectual vanity. Right well he knew that the deserts of materialistic philosophy could yield no constructive or cohesive elements for the temples God had set him to build. In his faith was a genius that tapped the inexhaustible fountains of inspiration and replenishment. His soul never went dry, as there were no reservoirs beyond its reach.

Doctor Buckley is quoted as saying of Doctor Goucher that "he knew more facts about more things than any other man he ever met." To this appraisement of scope and variety I would add the element of quality. With all his knowing Doctor Goucher carried no luggage information. It was consecrated time that he spent in reading and study. He garnered that he might be "thoroughly furnished unto every good work" committed to him.

He followed the drift of current thinking that he might understand the soil he was to till. The light that shone about him in his conversion never left him. Like Paul, he walked in that light as a presence rather than as a memory. The words of Jesus were to him living words, not merely echoes broadcast in type. Hence his freedom from all fads, and the spiritual discernment that made him a field marshal in missionary campaigning.

Thus tutored for apostolic leadership, he nevertheless held himself and his conquests subject to the authority of his church. Doctor North writes of him that he was ever ready to undertake any tour of inspection or investigation, no matter how far away, on request of the board (and at his own expense). Of danger to

himself he took no thought, though some of these far interior tours in China were beset with peril. It was altogether characteristic of him that when the ill-fated steamer Republic, on which he was a passenger, was slowly settling to her doom after being in collision with another vessel, her engines dead and her lights extinguished, it was this quiet man of faith, with pulse as normal as when he stepped aboard, who moved among the frantic people huddled on the upper decks, giving forth cheer and hope, like another Paul, and who with a flashlight taken from his hand-bag went below to recover a woman's jewels from her stateroom, and then from the same provident hand-bag brewed tea for the hysterical as they prayed for rescue.

Even in religious circles there are men (and, alas, women) of such impatient expectancy that they would clip an angel's wings if his appointed flight threatened to obscure their ambitious visions. Not all bad, such saints, they simply lack the faculty of discerning spiritual values as related to individual programs. Happily, the Baltimore Conference as a body had that faculty and loyally recognized its great spiritual leader in nine elections of General Conference delegates—usually as the head of its delegation. No true saint could be indifferent to the continuous confidence and affection of such a body of brethren, but I firmly believe that more than the distinction accorded to himself, personally, he valued the opportunity of setting forward his cherished ideals before a great body of representative men and women competent to judge and act—a mission in which he was always effective.

He could not avoid being voted for when bishops were being elected, but it is far easier for me to think of the episcopacy aspiring to his apostolic rank and mission than to think of him as "aspiring" to the episcopacy—an office which, however conspicuous and honorable, would surely have exhausted his consecrated energies in a prescribed routine fatal to free initiative and to plans requiring protracted negotiation. He did far better in becoming an untitled premier in the missionary councils of the world, the clear-visioned chief of staff in field operations, and the master diplomat of the Kingdom to powers and potentates of all

degrees civil and ecclesiastical. His service to their people won him decorations from the Emperor of Japan and from the Chinese republic, but all such honors left him ever in humility at the feet of God, waiting new orders as pioneer for church and bishops.

Doctor Goucher had a sane method of following up his investments of money by a searchlight lookout for men of promise for missionary service, especially in administrative and executive duties. He sought for men of like ideals with his own and he found them. Rarely was he mistaken, if ever, in the men he backed for leadership. Secretary McCabe's once daring slogan, "A Million for Missions," was but a hint at what has since been realized. In every advance in the missionary or educational operations of the church the quiet man from Baltimore was a potent factor from its inception to its fruition. Never obtrusive with his advice, his counsel was yet sought after by people of all colors and all degrees, from employees and near neighbors to preachers, general secretaries and bishops. Thus at the home base as well as all along the trails of his apostolic explorations now shine the lights of Christian learning from the windows of institutions, some founded and all nurtured by his gifts, inviting young men and women to the culture of mind and spirit that will make them safe leaders of their people.

And all this outlay of time and money so entirely voluntary, so *avoidable* had he been disposed to ease and comfort, or to ecclesiastical dignity or social indulgence! No official urge, no competitive compulsions, no impending review of his doing by General Conference to stimulate his zeal, no human tribunal to take account of his work and expenditures—*just the boy's covenant vow daily repeated from fourteen to seventy-seven: "I will do what you want me to do with the greatest pleasure."* That, and the God to whom he talked taking him at his word, yes, and his beloved Mary—here and yonder—ever approving, and cheering his fidelity to their inspired covenant as to the use of what God had given over to their keeping. They planned in faith, they planted in continents, they will be gathering forever—all to the glory of the cross.

I think he regarded the coordinating and unifying of the

various denominational institutions for higher learning already operating in China as the crowning of all his plans. There is not room to discuss it here, but it meant far more than a demonstration of the unity of Protestantism, though such a demonstration was sadly needed. It meant concentration at strategic points, higher and broader instruction at less cost, while its consummation gave to every one of the real universities thus provided the moral and financial support of a vastly larger home constituency. Such epochal achievements may not be traceable to the influence of any one man or to any single group, but they do not occur without these initial factors, nor at all unless there be an active propagandism. The inspiration must begin somewhere and become contagious somehow. If it be of God, antagonism is as certain as is timely aid—*if only the leaders lead as they are led.* There is the crux of the undertaking.

After all, what seems a superhuman task must be gone about in a human way. This involves a complex diplomacy. The urge, the end, the reward may be wholly spiritual, yet the road jungled by ecclesiastical selfishness, clinched on the inside by the inertia both of indifference and distrust, by considerations latent in bigotry and intolerance, by difficulties adjustable only in boards of trust in London or New York, sometimes by minds more or less carnally disposed.

In this momentous crisis Bishops Bashford and Lewis and Doctor Goucher were enthusiastic leaders. They set their church at the front of the great endeavor. While the two bishops were restricted in the range of their personal activities by their official duties, God had one man as free as the Spirit within him for this special service, and fully authorized thereto. As a member of the continuation committee created by the World's Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and chairman of the committee on Christian education in mission fields, unhampered as to time and means, by nature a diplomat and by experience a master of the art in missionary affairs, with Christian education in its broadest import the guiding passion of his career, Doctor Goucher seemed to have been prepared and held in readiness for this high commission. His own foundations had shown such breadth of

view and such exactness of judgment that he was fully trusted by all the negotiating bodies. It was a joyful service. He never vaunted his successes, but sometimes when we were alone in his study on his return from a satisfying tour I thought I caught a twinkle in his smile as he piloted me around the stormy capes that had been already passed by the great cause now safely in port through much prayer and tactful sailing.

The demand for Methodist Unification in America appealed to Doctor Goucher both as a missionary and patriotic proposition. His heart was wholly enlisted in the efforts looking to its realization. Being in charge of the report presented by the committee of sixty at the General Conference in Saratoga in 1916, he was the human lamp that held God's headlight flashing for that memorable hour before the great body of sympathetic delegates, showing the way to the reconstruction of Methodism for emergency service to the world. Alas that a few myopic ecclesiastical battlers could see in that hour of vision nothing more than the stage lights of a set comedy! So hard is it to escape one's familiar skyline. It is pertinent to say here that John F. Goucher was incapable of coarseness or trifling with things sacred. For him the Christian life had its decencies as well as its duties—its decencies and proprieties regulating his conduct toward his brother man, as its duties held him bound to God and his kingdom. Always and everywhere he was the refined Christian gentleman.

Whence had this man such culture of the spirit? It began at the altar of penitence and pardon when he said to God, "I will do anything you ask." It took form and symmetry in the college life of the youth. It grew in compass and vision throughout his itinerant ministry. It gathered tremendous impetus and outreach when merged with the faith of Mary Cecilia Fisher, a kindred soul. It was nurtured daily in their readings and personal devotions and in their steadfast adherence to a life program of stewardship. Thus God became the very atmosphere of the home. The consciousness of his being and of his being there was normal to the children as to the parents. God's will, God's way, God's work had precedence even though it called father to the ends of the earth and mother to heaven. Well might every servant of

God pray for the faith to be blind to what others see so plainly—lions in the way; the faith to be deaf to the warnings of men called sagacious, and to hold on and on when to others God seemed to have withdrawn from the battle; the faith to front the shafts of mean suspicion and depreciation like a statue of marble; the faith to be dumb when to answer would dignify envious or ignorant critics; even the faith that dared to build on earthquakes as in Japan, and look for harvests in desert sands as in Korea, India, China—all hazards at his own cost.

We laud captains of industry! What is due this sub-captain of Salvation?

And how simply he lived, how plain his attire! He kept no valet, carried no private secretary. Luxury he did not know. He kept his body under and held the rein over his artistic tastes. His car was a touring model and long coming. The mansion in Baltimore was built for hospitality. Its guests were of all nations, but the menu was distinctly American and the service simple and democratic. The host was never at disadvantage whatever way the conversation turned. He was ready with story, repartee, laughter, or pathos. He lived *with* people, not *off* of them, in his social life. In that clearing house of high thinking he gathered many points helpful to his Kingdom enterprises, but no guest ever left him more of value than he had himself received. The mother, and later, the daughters, were admirable aids to his ever dominating purpose. That home belonged to God for holy uses, and one of the illuminating lessons it emphasized was that neither poverty, nor penance, nor seclusion, nor self-torture in any form, nor untidiness, nor unkemptness is elemental in saintly character.

The family worship in the home was the outbreathing of adoration, thanksgiving, and petition, and the inbreathing of God in the fullness of his compassionate love, satisfying every need and refitting every member of the family for the day's service and for intercessory petition. It was divine worship *by the family*—a brief reading by the father, then all kneeling about him, with hands clasped, in a circle of loving, reverent unity. A heartbreaking day it was when the hands of the wife and mother were missed from the circle. Then the eldest daughter went out to found

another home, and left but three. Then another daughter became a missionary in China, and but two of the home circle remained. Now that home, with its every sanctified room and corner, passes to Goucher College.

It would be a startling sequel to the self-renunciation of its founders if the college should ever renounce all or any part of its identity as pre-determined by "the ideal, the purpose and the firm conviction of a divine commission"—to which they were obedient in its creation. The case is not as it would be if the founding had been a community project. Genuinely unsectarian and broadly Christian as the ideal was, it found no community welcome or sympathy. So unfavorable were all conditions, humanly considered, that it is perfectly plain that no inspiration less than "the firm conviction of a divine commission" could have begotten the "purpose" to realize the "ideal." And in the face of all that has been achieved through such daring of the impossible who is in position before God or men to challenge the sanity or gainsay the reality of that "firm conviction"? India, Korea, China and Japan, grateful for beneficent institutions created under the same inspiration, would send over the oceans such protests as would impeach the Christian quality of such a challenge from the American beneficiaries of John F. Goucher's faith in God and men. But granting the validity of his divine commission we are at once with him on his mount of vision and facing God as to the "ideal" to be realized. That having been for thirty odd years a matter of actual demonstration under the charter as written and exemplified by the one competent interpreter, and accepted by all his co-workers and others concerned, has passed forever beyond the jurisdiction of trustees and legislators. Once more I hear the familiar words of calm assurance that in every trial held his soul in perfect poise: "It is God's matter now, He will care for it."

RECENT LITERATURE ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION[1]

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The Book of Revelation has held the minds of men for sixty generations and has given inspiration to a multitude no man can number! Dante, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Milton, Bunyan, Burne-Jones, Ruskin and many another comforter of the spirit of man, have looked to it for light and leading and have gazed long and lovingly upon its great pictures.

"Age after age men and women, passing through great tribulation or desolate from some sore bereavement, have turned to this book for new strength and consolation, and have found it as they have read of the countless hosts who passed from rivers of blood to fountains of living water, from the ruthless cruelty of men to the healing pity of God!"[2]

The Apocalypse is a work of art. It is a succession of flaming canvases or rather a gigantic panorama in which cities, islands, continents, rivers, mountains, dynasties, empires, races, stars, planets—heaven and earth pass before our amazed eyes in tumultuous profusion. No other mortal man has ever had either the daring or the spiritual genius of John by which to make spiritual truths and the invisible stand forth with the splendor of morning skies.

But at once we must feel that the Book cannot be described after this fashion. It is all glorious music, climbing by heavenly melody from the shout of the single voice of praise and thanks-

[1] A. S. Peake, *The Revelation of John*. C. Anderson Scott, *Book of Revelation*. I. T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of Saint John*. R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John*. D. A. Hayes, *John and His Writings*. P. W. Wilson, *The Vision We Forget*. Raymond Calkins, *The Social Message of the Book of Revelation*. Charles Brown, *Heavenly Visions*. J. A. Moffatt, *Revelation of Saint John* (Expositor's Greek Testament). S. Case, *The Revelation of Saint John*. See also the comprehensive and important article on "Revelation" by Charles in the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. (See also the relative articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, such as "Apocalyptic Literature," "Angels," "Eschatology of the Apocalyptic Literature," "Parousia," "Millennium," "John, Apostle," "Man of Sin," etc.).

[2] Peake, p. 377.

giving recorded in 1. 5, 6 through quartet, and sextuple quartet and angel chorus and creation chorus and martyr chorus and chorus of pure ones and victory chorus until at last it breaks out in the great finale of the hallelujah chorus, as Dr. S. D. Gordon has pointed out,[3] not fancifully, but by a true instinct of interpretation. So restrained and cautious a scholar as Peake says, "He is a master of music sweet and soothing like that of the heavenly harpers." Dr. Sheldon in his *New Testament Theology* says: "Many of its words descend generation after generation like strains of celestial music upon the troubled hearts of men."

But it is more than celestial music as surely as it is more than marvelous scenic effects. It is a triumph of the spirit of man over pain, exile, persecution, hell. If the shadow of the Roman Empire, of the Beast, falls across its pages, nay, if the shadow of the Dragon and the Pit lie there, there also may be seen the light from the city of God, from the very throne of God.

How shall we think of the earth? Shall we think of it as a Garden, as John Burroughs delighted to do? Or shall we think also of the Gardener who hath made the Garden for you and me and others, as Bishop Quayle advises us to do? Yes; but let us not forget that the earth, the universe, is a spiritual purpose taking shape from earthquake-shocks and flood and conflagrations and time! And back of it and shining through it and making the atmosphere of it is a love that never dies! There is only one adequate explanation of the universe—not fire-mist, nor water, nor energy, nor resident forces, but God, God who is an Atoning God, the light of whose countenance shone for a little time in the face of Jesus of Nazareth.

We call this book *The* Apocalypse. I would first emphasize the word "the." It is *the* apocalypse. It was a gain when scholars identified it as belonging to the group of prophecies known as apocalyptical. But just as soon as we have reached that conclusion let us hasten to say that it stands apart from all other apocalypses. For it is a work of genius. I think it will be better to say the out-flowering of inspiration. An apocalypse but not an unveiling of last things merely or of destiny. But rather and

[3] *Quiet Talks with World Winners*, p. 148.

much more, an unveiling of the eternal principles that undergird life and all things. It is an unveiling of God and his purposes.

The men of John's day thought of evil as almighty. Even the men of our day more than half believe the same unnerving heresy. But John unveiled the truth concerning evil and showed that it was to be destroyed root and branch at last and cast into the undying fire of divine wrath.

C. Anderson Scott[4] gives more than half of his admirable volume of expositions to the first three chapters of the book containing the Letters to the Seven Churches, on the ground that these chapters are of special interest to us, and then he says that chapters 6-16, depicting the judgments of God as imminent, were possibly more important to John and his first readers than any other part of his book. I cannot believe this. Nor can I share the feeling of so many scholars that prompts them to pass over with slight reference all that John has to say in the seals, trumpets and bowls. I think the important message of the book of Revelation both for the first readers and for the readers of to-day is just this: That it makes clear that God is on his throne and that whatever the seeming may be he is winning all things unto himself and unto his righteousness by the invincible though gentle power of sacrificial love. The great overtone of the book, the great central message of the book is: "Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."[5]

It goes without saying that biblical scholarship has ever recognized that this book is a most important Scripture. Especially has this been so in modern times. A most important and a most difficult, for in many cases the key to its interpretation does not appear. Its forms are often obscure. The Seer has an unusual way of using both oral and written sources, for both appear plainly as the text reveals. The structure of the book can easily be made out at least in its main lines. But after that is the problem of its spiritual import. As it is the work of genius it is not always easy to be sure that the reader is putting the same content into its forms and symbols as did the author. It is for

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[4] *Book of Revelation*, p. 169.

[5] J. A. Geissinger, *Heart Problems and World Issues*, pp. 118ff.

example an apocalypse, but the author is by no means simply an apocalyptist. It is clear that the great spiritual impact of Christianity has been felt in his heart.

As an example of the difficulty confronting an interpreter, let us take the alleged teaching of the book concerning the thousand-year reign of Christ on the earth.

C. Anderson Scott states that this passage, Rev. 20. 4-6, is the only one in the New Testament stating that Christ will reign in bodily presence upon the earth for a thousand years. "This reign is of course on the earth," says Peake,[6] but as he points out, it is only Christ and the martyrs who reign and the martyrs only who take part in the first resurrection. Case[7] makes clear that this temporary reign of Messiah on earth was one of the tenets of the apocalyptic literature. Beckwith[8] shows that this vaguely apprehended idea of a temporary earthly kingdom is found in 2d Esdras, Enoch and Baruch and adds that the author of Revelation stands alone "in limiting the sharers in this kingdom to a special class of the saints, the risen martyrs." Charles points out[9] that the duration of a thousand years is nowhere earlier than this assigned to the Messianic Kingdom.

It may also be pointed out that nowhere in this book is it *said* that even the martyrs shall reign with Christ *upon the earth.* It simply says they shall reign with Christ and have part in a special resurrection. The fact that John has so modified this Judaistic notion should have put all scholars on their guard. Sheldon wisely says: "That the millennial reign is to be inaugurated by the visible coming of Christ and is to proceed as a visible administration of Christ and the risen saints is not said. It is a fair question whether it was thought by the revelator" (*New Testament Theology,* p. 169). "Saint John does not commit himself to a reign upon earth."[10]

Thus it may be seen that it is not an easy matter for an interpreter to deal with this book. To say that it is an apocalypse may be of some help, but it may very easily be misleading. Certain it is that no other book of the New Testament grasps more certainly the place of the cross in the redemption of the world

[6]P. 350. [7]P. 365. [8]P. 735. [9]Vol. ii, p. 143. [10]Swete, p. 265.

(1. 10; 2. 7, 17, 29; 2. 6, 13, 22; 4. 2; 14. 13; 17. 3; 21. 10; 22. 17).

There is no other book that affords such a range for devout and fearless scholarship as this book. Who wrote it? Was it the apostle John,[11] or John the Presbyter, or, as Charles maintains, the prophet John? Is the book a unity? If so how shall such sections as chapter seven, chapter eleven, and chapter twelve, not to mention others, be explained? How shall we treat the seals, trumpets and bowls? Mr. Wilson tells us (113) that a friend assured him, when he learned that he was to write about the Apocalypse, that his troubles would begin when he got to the River Euphrates! The book is full of problems upon which scholarship has done hard work and thrown not a little light, though many questions remain unsolved still.

Recently the presses have been turning out quite freely books commenting on this great Scripture. It is the purpose of this article to call attention to some of these more recent interpretations. What has been said thus far may help us the better to appreciate the fact that the interpreter of the Apocalypse has no ordinary task on his hands. It needs to be said that scholars in this field have shown great industry, much resourcefulness and an unwonted reverence. And their labors have been richly rewarded. As a result of their toil now any intelligent layman without critical equipment, any busy pastor, may quickly turn to this literature and get much in the way of light and leading upon a Scripture that from the first has been most baffling.

For the beginner there is possibly no better little handbook, thoroughly scholarly, than C. Anderson Scott's volume on *Revelation* in the *New Century Bible* (1902). This little volume is eminently sane and packed full of information and sound opinion. With it should be read his later expositions published in a volume entitled *The Book of Revelation*. One half of the latter volume is given up to a study of the letters to the churches, as the author holds that this section of Revelation is most important for modern readers. As is well known, Ramsey's monumental work on the Letters, 1904, and Deissmann's *Light from the Ancient East*,

[11] Hayes, pp. 227ff.

1910, bring a wealth of detail to the study of this portion of the book.

Charles Brown, the popular Baptist preacher of England, some years ago brought out a volume of expository addresses entitled *Heavenly Visions,* especially rich in their treatment of the pastoral and personal problems involved.

In 1919, the University of Chicago Press published an admirable volume by Professor Shirley Case, containing much valuable introductory matter, a new translation into modern English, and a continuous comment. The only criticism that needs to be made upon this commentary, if there is need of any at all, is that the author seems to make too much of the fact that the book belongs in the apocalyptic literature and does not evince much appreciation of the spiritual genius of John.

This will become all the more apparent to any one comparing the volume of Professor Case with that of Professor Peake, just issued. This latter volume is characterized by keen spiritual insight, scholarly reserve, and rare technical equipment. It is to be regretted that the author did not omit many of his allusions to the literature on Revelation that he might have had more space for his own comment. As it is, one half of his volume is given over to a continuous interpretation, in which the letters take up but one sixth of the space. There are three chapters of special value on "Principles of Interpretation," "The Teachings of the Book," and "The Permanent Value of the Book."

The Vision We Forget, by Philip Whitwell Wilson, is a book of another order. Mr. Wilson is not a biblical expert but a devout newspaper correspondent. This is not to say that he is thereby clearly incompetent to speak upon Revelation, although, as Professor Peake says, much of the book is sealed with seven seals to the reader who is not a specialist. We might add that even *specialists* have trouble in getting some of the seals open!

Mr. Wilson has a rich imagination which he seldom puts a bridle upon and which carries him hither and yon. It is needless to say that he has much courage and rushes in often where scholars fear to tread and is exceedingly unsafe to the reader who needs him most. He starts out with John in church on Sunday morning

with wandering thoughts! He does not venture to say who was doing the preaching. To him the Nicolaitans are those who depend upon interpretations instead of the Word! He has the "achievements of science" around the throne of God. The trees and grass, one third of which is doomed, are to Mr. Wilson—grass the humble homes of men and the trees universities and churches! The Book John is commanded to eat is the Bible and little did any one at that time foresee that "a Book would transform history"! The first Beast is godless civilization and the second is commerce! And so on.

Nevertheless, the preacher will find many a fruitful suggestion in this whimsical volume, many a broad and true generalization and running through it all a faith in the spiritual substratum of the universe.

Never have the spiritual meanings of Revelation been brought out more clearly or more sanely or in briefer compass than in the small volume by Raymond Calkins entitled *The Social Message of the Book of Revelation,* a little book confessedly based upon the previous works of Doctors Beckwith and Porter. It was issued in 1920 by the Woman's Press. Doctor Calkins is a pastor in Cambridge, Mass., and evinces the pastoral instinct in his interpretation. The book of Revelation, it should never be forgotten, is a pastoral letter above all else.

Already our space is warning us that we must not go much farther and yet we have not touched upon such masterful commentaries as Swete's, Moffatt's, or Beckwith's, to say nothing of the monumental work of Charles.

Swete is a storehouse of reference to the historical situation that called forth Revelation and to classical literature. Swete has never been surpassed in the combinations of elements in his critical make-up, and while there are disadvantages in his eclectic style of interpretation he has a keen insight into the meaning of the book. Charles shows a deep indebtedness to Swete.[12]

Moffatt's brief commentary in the *Expositor's Greek Testament,* 1910, has possibly never been equaled, certainly never surpassed, for the brevity, conciseness, and adequacy of his comment.

[12]See especially his article on "Revelation" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

One of his fundamental positions is that his concern is not with the genus but the genius of the Apocalypse.[13] It would have been better if all commentators had held to that view. He finely calls attention to the fact that in its faith and its consciousness of Christ the Apocalypse stands apart from all other books of its class. "This power of penetrating to the eternal issues underneath the conflict of the day is one note of the true prophet, and in touching the Apocalypse we touch the living soul of Asiatic Christendom."[14] Moffatt makes no parade of his vast learning, nor does he overload his pages with allusion and references and quotations from other interpreters to the bewilderment of the student. He holds right on his way and comes as nearly to getting to the heart of the book as any interpreter who has essayed so to do.

Beckwith's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* may possibly be overshadowed by the larger work of Charles, but it should not be neglected by the student of Revelation, for to a wealth of scholarship Doctor Beckwith adds spiritual gifts of a high order in an interpreter. The volume is much of it fine print, compasses 800 pages, about one half of which are given over to the commentary proper; 166 pages are devoted to a most illuminating survey of eschatology and 30 pages to apocalypticism. Beckwith clearly keeps before his mind that Revelation was not composed by a scholar in a modern library but that John was an evangelist. He holds that John made use of other sources but handled them freely. His treatment of the literary manner of John and his mental characteristics[15] is of the utmost importance to the student of Revelation. He points out John's habit of repetition, the introduction of brief statements explained later, interruptions, prefatory passages, his introduction of subjects not previously mentioned as if familiar already to the reader and his seeming contradictions, as for example the grass is unhurt, 9. 4, though it was destroyed, 8. 7.

This insight on the part of Beckwith would have saved Charles from several serious confusions. For example, he holds that 20. 4 to 22. 21 is a section in hopeless confusion due to the fact

[13]Moffatt, p. 395.
[14]P. 314. [15]Beckwith, pp. 239-255.

that John died either naturally or as martyr before giving this section final form and that it was written out later "by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order he thought right." Charles' contention is that while all manner of evil has been destroyed and the new order is coming down from heaven in 21. 1, 2, when we get over to 22. 15 we find all manner of sinners outside the city gates. He feels sure that not only this instance but others indicates that an editor finally recast the book, though we have it from John's hands save for a few additions in chapters two, three, and eighteen.

It is not possible to go into this matter in detail here, but we cannot help but feel that Beckwith gives us the key to these difficulties. It is part of John's manner. For example, in 6. 14, he makes the heavens to disappear in one vision but they reappear in another, 8. 12, certainly with no embarrassment to the seer. 21. 8 comes in strangely enough, if we take a certain point of view, after 19. 21.

At any rate Beckwith has given the student of Revelation a real insight in this principle of interpretation.

In 1920 in this country Charles Scribner's Sons issued the two-volume commentary by R. H. Charles on *The Revelation of St. John* as one in the series of International Critical Commentaries. It is exceedingly difficult to speak of this masterful work in a brief compass. Under any circumstances it would be difficult to speak of it without seeming to exaggerate to the man not acquainted with it.

The work is twice as bulky as that of Swete's and yet it would not be possible to condense it more. The introductory matter is amazingly full and illuminating. Here are recorded a first hand study of both Jewish and Christian apocalyptics, a survey of Greek versions of the Old Testament, together with the various versions and manuscripts of the Apocalypse. The list of manuscripts of the Apocalypse alone covers five pages, allowing but one line to each manuscript!

The amended Greek text and apparatus criticus cover 155 pages in spite of the most rigid abbreviation.

Swete stated in his introduction that a thorough monograph

on the "grammar of the Apocalypse is still to be desired." Charles has supplied that need admirably.

Each section of the Apocalypse is summarized in an opening paragraph where the gist of the passage is given in good, readable English, then follows a section dealing with the idioms and diction, and this is followed by the detailed comment.

It is easy to understand that this work has covered a period of twenty-five years. It is easy also to see that it has been a labor of love. Nor is it hard to believe that the author's eyes did indeed begin to give out and that he had to call in help from the outside. An English translation, that keeps close to the level of the Authorized Version, that yet elucidates obscure passages and at the same time preserves the rhythm of the original, is added at the close.

It is difficult to say whether this commentary excels most in its critical procedure or in its interpretation of the meaning of the seer. Both phases of the work are done with unsurpassed skill. Certainly it is not to be expected that all students of the Apocalypse will agree with Doctor Charles in his critical conclusions. There will be those who will think that he is sometimes lacking in sufficient reserve in reaching his conclusions. He manifests an eagerness to put difficulties out of the way. Thus he does not hesitate to reconstruct the latter chapters of the book rather vigorously, laying not a little blame at the door of an editor whom he considers a fair Greek scholar but without any great insight into John's purposes, as we have already noted. He also gives a good deal of space to making good his contention that the letters, in chapters two and three, were written before the rest of the book and before the struggle of the Christian community with the Empire was so apparent as it afterward became, and that they have been recast to bring them more in line with the feeling of the author after this conflict came more nearly to a head.

But Doctor Charles has done much to clear up many difficulties in the text and in the understanding of the Apocalypse by his thorough work on the sources of the book. He states that nearly one-fifth of the text appears to be based on sources and these are given in detail. The mere notation of these passages covers 30

pages. Very generally by scholars it has been recognized that John has made use of sources, but Charles has worked out these sources with amazing accuracy, as we see it, though doubtless his work will come in for many a revision. This is not to be taken to indicate that the Book of Revelation is a mere paste-pot and scissors kind of an affair. Far from it. It rather indicates that the author of it did some good hard thinking and was not only a man of visions.

Doctor Charles makes much of John's great characterizations and generalizations and also of his visions. He claims for John's ecstasies "a substratum of reality." He realizes that there is a higher experience of the mind in which divine insight is won, in which the soul "comes into direct touch with truth or God himself." A light comes to the soul by grace under such conditions that it could never reach by its own unaided powers. These experiences often sweep beyond the seer's power of comprehension and are always difficult of portrayal. Herein is seen the deeper meaning of the symbolism of the book.

No interpreter has given finer appreciation to the art of the book and the powers of insight and imagination and reason indicated by its structure than Doctor Charles. He rightly says that the "chief theme of the Apocalypse is not what God in Christ has done for the world, but what he will yet do." "The divine omnipotence and the divine love and self-sacrifice are indissolubly linked together for the world's redemption." John sees the conflict between good and evil as a cosmic one, not originating on earth, and to end only with the utter destruction of evil. John saw good and evil preparing for the final death grapple and Charles keenly realizes the movement of the seer's thought as it passes not by recapitulation but progressively from seals and trumpets to the bowls of divine wrath, from the earlier section through the 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters on toward the lake of fire. Doctor Charles' treatment of the book better relates the section from the twelfth chapter on to what goes before it than does Doctor Swete's.

"The object of the Seer is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own

1 7062.17

borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic" (ciii). Unconsciously Doctor Charles here unduly modernizes John's meaning by the use of one word, yet he gives the meaning of the Seer. That word is "goodness." It may amount to the same thing in the end, but John does not deal with goodness but with fidelity to Christ, faith, and "faith is the victory," he sings. "A faith immeasurable, an optimism inexpugnable, a joy inextinguishable press for utterance and take form in anthems of praise and gladness and thanksgiving, as the Seer follows in vision the varying fortunes of the world struggle, till at last he sees evil fully and finally destroyed, righteousness established forevermore, and all the faithful—even the weakest of God's servants among them—enjoying everlasting blessedness in the eternal City of God, bearing his name on their foreheads, and growing more and more into his likeness."

No wonder the Apocalypse meant so much to the first century Christians! And by the same sign it is a book for us Christians to-day. If any present-day Christian asks what has scholarship done for the church? I reply: Read the recent literature on the Book of Revelation and you will have a heartening answer to your question.

RITSCHL AND AFTER

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The centenary of the birth of Albrecht Ritschl has called forth a number of interesting utterances on the historical significance of his theology. The two theological faculties of which he had been a member honored his memory by public celebrations. At Bonn, where his son and biographer, Otto Ritschl, has been professor of systematic theology since 1897, the special address was given by Adolf Harnack, of Berlin; at Göttingen the speaker was the present incumbent of Ritschl's old chair, Professor Carl Stange. Also various theological journals have brought fresh contributions to the critical appreciation of Ritschl's work. Thirty-three years have elapsed since his death and forty-eight since the completion of his epoch-making work on *Justification and Reconciliation.* We stand, therefore, at a sufficient distance to be able to view his work dispassionately and in some perspective, though even yet the time can hardly be ripe for a final estimation of its value.

By common consent Ritschl is "the most influential theologian since Schleiermacher." This is, however, to be understood as a bare statement of fact, not—to employ a characteristic Ritschlian term—as a "value-judgment." Ritschl's immense vogue in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a convincing proof of the energy and timeliness of his thinking, but obviously it does not satisfy the question as to the intrinsic merit and abiding value of his results. But then, neither does the rapid decline in the direct influence of Ritschl, which set in before the close of the last century, in any way justify the disparagement of his merits which is quite too common to-day. A half century of religious thought and life has put the Ritschlian theology to a pretty severe test. New phases of the religious problem have come into the foreground. The Ritschlian approach is no longer timely and some of the Ritschlian positions seem to be no longer tenable. Certain

serious limitations in Ritschl's theology are now almost universally recognized. Yet it cannot be denied that some of the important elements in his theology have gained the widest acceptance among evangelical theologians. This, in view of the extraordinary bitterness of the attacks upon him in the last ten years of his life, is altogether remarkable. On every hand we see evidences of the deep penetration of the Ritschlian influence, but we find nowhere an unqualified acceptance of the genuine original Ritschlian standpoint. There is no longer a Ritschlian school. There are, to be sure—in Germany, Great Britain, America, and other lands—even yet many theologians of the general Ritschlian type; but these present-day Ritschlians have all not only departed too far from some of the positions of the master, but have come to differ too widely among themselves longer to be regarded as a school. Nevertheless it is certain that Ritschl's influence is still not only indirectly but also directly a significant force.

Much has been written about Ritschl and the development of the Ritschlian school, comparatively little about the relation of the Ritschlian theology to the more recent phases of religious thought. It seems fitting, therefore, that, on the occasion of his centenary, an attempt should be made to estimate the work of Ritschl especially in the light of the subsequent developments. And as a preface to the discussion of his theology some brief notices of his personal history and individuality may be of interest.

Albrecht Ritschl, the son of an eminent churchman, was born in Berlin, March 25, 1822. As student at Bonn and Halle he came under the influence of some of the most distinguished mediating theologians of the time (Nitzsch, Tholuck, Müller). Later he studied for a semester at Heidelberg, where Rothe was then the chief luminary, and finally for a year at Tübingen under Baur. Of all these teachers it was only the last that won his pronounced adherence. But even Baur, whose interpretation of history was too much influenced by Hegelian speculation, did not long maintain his mastery over Ritschl's thinking. Already in the first edition of his *Origin of the Ancient Catholic Church* (1850) he showed his scientific independence by departing at several points from the views of Baur. In the second edition of

that work (1857) he broke completely with the Tübingen tradition, just as he had already renounced the Hegelian philosophy, which had held him captive for a time. In 1846 he became privatdocent at Bonn, where in 1852 he became professor extraordinary, and in 1859 was advanced to a full professorship. In 1864 he was called to Göttingen, where he remained until his death in 1889. As university professor his success was solid, but not at all brilliant until his work on *Justification and Reconciliation* brought him the widest recognition.

Ritschl has been described as a man of medium height, broadly and solidly built, and of more than ordinary physical vigor. His mental alertness, his faculty of swift observation and keen discernment, at once impressed all who met him. He was, however, rather reserved in his ordinary social intercourse. In his conduct of life he was uncommonly faithful and punctual in the fulfillment of all obligations, and he prized in others the like disposition and habit. But he had also certain manifest faults. He was too much inclined to be domineering; in his later years he would brook no contradiction. If even a loyal disciple of his had the temerity merely to point out some historical blunder in his writings, he was apt to be roused to anger. And yet he was a man who could give himself at times very heartily to social merriment. He had an extraordinarily keen wit, but unhappily his wit too often followed a sarcastic bent. Incidentally it may be of interest to know that he was the possessor of a fine tenor voice; on at least one occasion he was brought from Bonn to Berlin to take a leading part in oratorio.

Like every other representative man, Ritschl is not to be understood except in the light of his historical relations. In an eminent degree he was a child of his time. Yet this child of his time was a personality of very marked temperamental individuality, and that individuality was of uncommon importance in determining the character and tendency of his thinking. Ritschl was not only a very vigorous and penetrating intellect, but also —in the larger aspects of his personality—a robust, independent and masterful spirit. He loved intellectual honesty and spiritual sobriety. In particular he showed a temperamental repugnance

to all that was fanciful, sentimental, or strained in matters of religion. The temperamental personal note is clearly discernible in all his thinking. Furthermore, when we pass from the consideration of the inherent character of his theology to the question of accounting for the swift growth and the powerful influence of the Ritschlian school, we are forced to recognize the masterful personality of Ritschl himself as a very considerable factor therein. Not that the school had its roots in any personal fascination of the master. Ritschl's disciples are doubtless quite right in insisting that the school sprang from the powerful impression of the scientific and practical worth of his writings. Nevertheless it is clear that no sooner had the school begun to form itself than the master began assiduously to cherish and cultivate it. But his masterful personality could become a factor in establishing his extraordinary influence in the theological world only when it could assert itself from the vantage-ground of high intellectual accomplishments. For thirty years he had labored as university teacher before the first trace of a "school" appeared. It was in 1876, that is, about two years after the completion of his great work on *Justification and Reconciliation,* that he could greet the first literary token of the upspringing of a Ritschlian school. This token was a little book by Wilhelm Herrmann, then privatdocent in Halle, on *Metaphysics in Theology.* From this time on he strove to build up the school whose spontaneous beginnings had surprised him. And his self-consciousness as head of a school of theologians grew stronger and stronger until the end. Although naturally a broadly social nature, he confined his intercourse in his later years almost exclusively to the circle of his admiring disciples. But since these were men of too much originality and independence to be really dominated by another mind, the master's tranquillity was often disturbed by the frank expression of views not in harmony with his own. Even Herrmann's *Communion of the Christian with God,* the best-loved of all the writings that have proceeded from the Ritschlian school, did not give the master unmingled joy. The very title seemed to him to smack of pietism.

Ritschl's scientific method was peculiarly characteristic of the man. He had nothing of the immediacy of intuition and very

little of the speculative bent of a Schleiermacher or a Rothe. The critical faculty, on the other hand, he possessed in the highest degree. Also he was a very rigorous logician. In these regards he was at least the equal of any systematic theologian of the nineteenth century. Schleiermacher was a far greater genius than Ritschl, but the latter was incomparably the more learned of the two. In certain important respects such men as Rothe, Hofmann, and Dorner were clearly not inferior to Ritschl. But in a certain combination of learning and critical discernment Ritschl had a distinct advantage over every other systematic theologian since Schleiermacher. And now just what is the peculiar distinction of Ritschl's scientific method? Unlike other systematic theologians, he did not separate the critical from the constructive process; he constantly blended the two. "He builds in the very process of criticizing." His criticism is, moreover, very detailed and searching. In it all he never loses the whole from his view, but his method is to proceed from the particular to the universal. This peculiarity makes of a clear thinker a difficult—not to say obscure —writer.

What now was the theological situation that Ritschl faced as he was coming to the maturity of his powers? All the various schools or tendencies of theological thought stood more or less under the influence of Schleiermacher, the great renovator of evangelical theology. Yet unhappily not one of the leaders of thought in this period showed himself able to carry forward the work of Schleiermacher in really adequate fashion. Certain faults in his standpoint and method required correction and the great elements of vital Christian truth in his thinking needed to be brought to a fuller and juster expression. When Ritschl reached the age of thirty-five years, Baur had been for perhaps two decades the bright particular star in the theological firmament. Now, however, his glory was fading. His extraordinary influence had been due not merely to his amazing intellectual energy and productivity, but also in no small part to the fact that the speculative bent of his thinking had been highly characteristic of the time. And now the rapid decline in his influence was due not to any considerable decline in his powers (he was sixty-eight years of age at the time

of his death in 1860), but to the widespread reaction against all (especially the Hegelian) speculation in theology and to the sure progress of a soberer historical criticism which had already seriously shaken a number of his positions. For Baur was a disciple of Hegel rather than of Schleiermacher, and the Hegelian speculations largely controlled his historical criticism. To Baur belongs the great merit of having forced the theological world to take full account of Christianity as an historical problem. But neither his method nor his results have proved satisfactory. But in Tübingen there had arisen another great leader, whose standpoint and tendency were very unlike those of Baur. J. T. Beck, a very independent thinker and extraordinarily impressive personality, had become—even some years before the death of Baur—the great attraction and influence in the faculty. He was a thoroughgoing biblicist. He renounced all theological speculation, at least in principle; and he made scant use of historical criticism, holding that the grand and simple elements of the biblical testimony are fairly accessible even without elaborate critical research. In Beck's standpoint there was one supreme merit: the powerful insistence upon the biblical testimony as ultimate source of all knowledge of the Christian reality. But there was in it also a very grave fault: so uncritical a biblicism could never satisfy the scientific interest of theology. In the next place there were certain eminent and influential "mediating" theologians. Some of these (K. I. Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Tholuck) were more biblical, while others (Rothe and Dorner) were more speculative in their tendency. Generally speaking, the mediating theologians stood more in the main stream of the tendency proceeding from Schleiermacher than was the case with Baur and the "liberal dogmaticians who stood about him or with Beck. But in spite of the great gifts and learning as well as the religious fervor of its leading representatives, the mediating theology was generally vague and indefinite in respect both of principles and of method. A fourth important group had its center in Erlangen. Its leader was Hofmann (1810-1877). In the interval between the death of Schleiermacher (1834) and the publication of Ritschl's *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (1870-74), Hofmann's contribution to the advance-

ment of systematic theology was incomparably the most important. Three very significant features characterize his theology. It is in the first place a theology of the Christian consciousness. This principle he derived directly from Schleiermacher, but he was more consistent than Schleiermacher in its application. In the second place he represented the standpoint of a moderate Lutheran orthodoxy. This system of belief he thought to be derivable, in all its essential features, from an analysis of the Christian consciousness. Also in this connection he sought to give due recognition to the significance of the Scriptures as the classic expression of the Christian consciousness. And finally, he introduced into the theological thinking of his time a highly original and fruitfully suggestive conception of historical revelation: Salvation is wrought out in an historical process covering all time (*Heilsgeschichte*). History itself, according to Hofmann, is prophecy, but so also is it fulfillment. Each period bears within itself the germ of promise for the future, while at the same time it is the fulfillment of the promise of past history. The incarnation is, accordingly, only the relative goal of the Old Testament history, for it is also at the same time the promise and prefigurement of the final glorification of believers.

From all these groups Ritschl learned freely, but he could not be wholly satisfied with the standpoint of any. After Schleiermacher, among the theologians of the nineteenth century, he owed most to Hofmann. It was Hofmann's conception of the *Heilsgeschichte* that chiefly attracted him to that theologian; but the attempts to derive Lutheran orthodoxy, or indeed any given system, from the Christian consciousness appeared to him utterly futile. With all its merits, the Erlangen theology seemed to him to involve hopeless incongruities.

But for Ritschl it was not enough to look at the systems of thought of professional theologians; the character of the religious life and thought of the Christian people he held to be of far greater significance. His interest did not lie in the mere formal correction or improvement of scholastic theology. His interest was intensely churchly and practical, and he held that the function of theology was through and through practical. Being persuaded that there

were many sore evils in the popular religious tendencies of the time, he aimed, by means of his theological science, at nothing less than a thoroughgoing reformation of those tendencies. Above all he found in the lay religion of his time two chief tendencies, both of which seemed to him false and injurious. One was a formal, passive, lifeless orthodoxy; the other was a narrow, individualistic, sentimental pietism. And these evils in the religion of the laity he held to be for the most part the natural outgrowth of unsound tendencies in the theology of the time.

Subsequent developments in religious thought have largely justified Ritschl in his complaints respecting the theological situation of that time. It is now almost universally agreed that the liberalism of the period was far too speculative, too rationalistic, and too little controlled by the positive biblical revelation; that the mediating theologians lacked clean-cut scientific principles; that the Erlangen theology in spite of all its merits, had fallen into the snare of a one-sided subjectivism; that the massive biblicism of Beck could not, in spite of its rich suggestiveness, satisfy the scientific demands of the time. It is now generally recognized that most of the schools of religious thought in the third quarter of the last century were still tinged with the spirit of romanticism, a spirit that magnified the importance of feeling to the neglect of history. Then there was the popular theology of the Revival, which was too sentimental and narrowly individualistic. The time was ripe for a new turn in the course of religious thinking.

The task which Ritschl's generation of theologians inherited and to whose accomplishment Ritschl applied himself was (as Rade has pointed out in an article in "Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart") fivefold. (a) The intrusion of speculation into theology must be overcome. For two generations speculation had luxuriated, but now men of a scientific spirit had grown weary of it. (b) The vague cleverness of the mediating theologians must give place to a rigorous scientific method. (c) A better understanding of Luther must be gained; the real Luther, the Luther of gospel liberty, must be recovered, and the fancied Luther of orthodox tradition must be set aside. (d) The Bible must be restored to its rightful place in the church's thought and life. This,

Ritschl held, neither Hofmann nor Beck had accomplished. (e) It was needful that the practical function of theology in the church be more clearly and effectually recognized.

In relation to each of these points Ritschl was able to render an important service to theology. That service was of a twofold nature; it was both critical and constructive. In both ways his work was important, yet it is the criticism rather than the constructive work that chiefly impresses one. His criticism was not unerring—it was sometimes (as, for example, in his treatment of pietism) strangely one-sided or even unjust, and yet he was perhaps the most penetrating theological critic since Schleiermacher. With some important reservations and exceptions it might have been said of him:

> He read each wound, each weakness clear;
> And struck his finger on the place,
> And said: Thou ailest here, and here!

He undertook to clear the ground and sort his materials before setting about rearing a building. And although it cannot be said that he was as successful in construction as he had been in the critical preparation, still his constructive work was impressive and rich in fruitful suggestions. At the same time, however, it involved some decidedly unfortunate tendencies; certain foreign elements were mixed with the rich body of truth in his theology.

Considered in respect of its deepest intention, the theology of Ritschl must be characterized as *a theology of the historical revelation.* And inasmuch as Ritschl laid an almost exclusive emphasis upon the historical Christ, his theology is to be characterized more specifically as *a theology of the revelation through the historical Christ.* Not as *the* theology of this standpoint, for the general standpoint held by Ritschl was capable of yielding various systems. Ritschl's standpoint and general method are "immeasurably richer than his system." In fact, few even of his own disciples reproduced the master's system. Taken all in all, the Ritschlian theology, in spite of certain grievous faults, has exerted a wholesome influence upon recent theological thinking. Even though subsequent developments have clearly shown that this theology was itself sorely in need of correction at certain important points,

one ought not to fail to see that in its time it was a powerful factor in the correcting of various unsound tendencies in the theology of the period. By virtue of his special emphasis upon the historical revelation Ritschl became the protagonist in the successful attack upon speculative theology. In his vigorous opposition to the subjectivism of the theology of the Christian consciousness (Hofmann and Frank) he may have gone too far, but even here his criticism was in the main wholesome and necessary. And all must agree that he was right in pointing out the untenableness of Beck's position. Also his criticism of pietism, though in some respects so unjust, has not been without its wholesome effects.

Perhaps Ritschl's merit as a theologian lay chiefly at two points. He contributed more than any other man of his century to the true religious understanding of Luther, especially of Luther's conception of the nature of faith; and he insisted that the larger idea of the kingdom of God, and not the pietistic concentration upon the redemption of the individual, is the central thing in Christianity.

In view of these great and now so generally acknowledged merits of his work, the pronounced opposition that Ritschl encountered on the part of a group of men whose general standpoint was nearly the same as his own strikes one as something strange. That a representative speculative theologian like Pfleiderer or a champion of the theology of the Christian consciousness like Frank should vigorously oppose Ritschl's way of thinking was altogether natural. These men knew their fundamental positions to be assailed. But that the biblicists Cremer and Kaehler should set themselves in array against the Ritschlian theology was to Ritschl himself and to some of his disciples strange and disappointing. The reason of this opposition is, however, not so far to seek, and both Kaehler and Cremer have stated it clearly enough. Although in cordial sympathy with Ritschl's biblical and Christocentric standpoint, these theologians were persuaded that his theory of religious cognition—especially as affected, in its actual application, by his own spiritual idiosyncrasy—had led him to a curtailment of some essential elements of the biblical revelation and to a too restricted conception of the range of Christian experience.

Ritschl's theory of religious cognition is Kantian. It has been much praised and much blamed. Upon the value of this theory both Ritschl and his disciples laid great stress. "Every theologian," says Ritschl, "is, as a scientific man, under the necessity or obligation to proceed according to a definite theory of knowledge, of which he must be conscious and whose right he must demonstrate." It would, however, be unfair to assume, as some of his critics have done, that for Ritschl an epistemological theory was the principal thing. The divine revelation was for him everything, the sole source and object of religious knowledge. The points of interest in his theory of religious knowledge are summed up in his own concise statement: Religious judgments are "direct and independent value-judgments." They are direct and independent judgments because they are based upon the immediate apprehension of the divine revelation and so stand in their own right, requiring no rational or philosophical legitimation. They are value-judgments in contradistinction from the theoretical, disinterested judgments of pure science. The latter have to do with actuality objectively regarded, the former with the practical bearings of actuality upon our personal life. In its intention, at least, the Ritschlian epistemology was designed to serve as a barrier against the intrusion into the domain of religion of matters really irrelevant to it. It is in this sense only that Ritschl would exclude metaphysics from theology. Certainly his position is immeasurably removed from that of the thoroughgoing pragmatists and the adherents of the "Als-ob" philosophy, who are interested only in the use of a religious concept, not at all in the question of the reality of its ground. In its intention, then, Ritschl's theory of value-judgments is wholesome and thankworthy. It is his manner of applying the theory that has provoked so much dissent. And I will record my own general agreement with those who complain that Ritschl applied his theory in so unfortunate a way as to exclude from his system some essential elements of the full biblical revelation.

Before proceeding in the briefest manner to characterize the more recent chief tendencies in theology, indicating especially their relations to the Ritschlian movement, it may be well to sum up

Ritschl's standpoint in his own words. In his "Unterricht im Christentum" he says: "Christianity is not to be likened to a circle with its single central point, but to an ellipse, which is governed by two foci." These foci are the historical revelation in Jesus Christ and the idea of the kingdom of God. These represent, as one may say, the first and the final cause of Christianity. Hence the following definition: "Christianity is the monotheistic, perfectly spiritual and ethical religion, which, based upon the life of its Founder, a life that redeems men and lays the foundation of the kingdom of God, consists in sonship to God, includes in itself the impulse to the loving conduct which aims at the moral organization of mankind, and establishes man's salvation in the filial relation to God and in the kingdom of God." Ritschl judged the purpose of Jesus and the meaning of his life to be the realization of the kingdom of God among men. He laid the greatest possible stress upon the ethical conception of the kingdom of God; the eschatological moment he thrust far into the background.

Within the group of Ritschl's own disciples divergent tendencies early began to appear. Only a few of these men, above all Gottschick, represent an approximately direct continuation of the original Ritschlian tendency. A majority of the more distinguished Ritschlians moved toward "the right." Not, however, in the direction of confessionalism, but in the direction of a fuller recognition of biblical Christianity. This observation applies in various ways and in different degrees to Herrmann, Kaftan, Haering, Kattenbusch, Loofs, Reischle, and Kirn. Farther toward "the left" we find such men as Harnack, Wendt, and Jülicher. At the extreme left we come upon a group of men who, after having stood for a time under the influence of Ritschl, early struck out for themselves a new path, founding the history-of-religion school.

Among the more genuine disciples of Ritschl three attained to unusual eminence as systematic theologians, namely, Herrmann, Kaftan, and Haering. All of these three have criticized adversely some of the positions of the master. Of uncommon force were Haering's strictures on some features of Ritschl's doctrine of the atonement, which he regarded as falling short of the full biblical

conception. On the whole, Haering shows a certain sympathy with a moderate biblicistic pietism. In this regard he stands nearer to Kaehler than to Ritschl. Haering is a theologian of very unusual depth, balance, and "sweet reasonableness." Kaftan's general position is not far from that of Haering; perhaps the most striking difference lies in the fact that Kaftan lays far greater stress than Haering upon the Kantian epistemology. It was, by the way, from Kaftan that Ritschl himself borrowed the term "value-judgments." But of all the disciples of Ritschl representing the field of systematic theology by far the most significant and inspiring was Herrmann (died Jan. 2, 1922). Some of Herrmann's positions are extreme and appear to be anything but impregnable. His famous thesis, for example, that "the inner life of Jesus" alone is the ground of our faith, and that whatever else faith may eventually compass and comprehend—as even so vital a fact as the resurrection of Jesus—is faith's product and not its ground, was challenged not only by a Kaehler but also by such Ritschlians as Haering, Reischle, Kattenbusch, and Kirn. These men have argued that the church never preached and cannot preach a gospel of the inner life of the historical Jesus and stop at that; out of her triumphant certainty she preaches the living Christ, and it is *this* message that awakens faith. But in spite of the vulnerable points in his theology Herrmann has rendered an immense service to Christian thinking in our time. Above all it has been his unceasing endeavor to purge theology of everything that has no essential relation to the Christian's communion with God.

But of all the Ritschlians the most famous is Harnack. He is not only a brilliant historian, but also a manysided theologian. The critical spirit that characterized the Ritschlian movement found in him its greatest exponent. But he cannot be regarded as a genuine continuator of the central theological principles of Ritschl. In his famous lectures known in their English dress under the title *What is Christianity?* he undertakes to determine the nature of Christianity by purely historical means. This is a perversion of the Ritschlian conception of the significance of history for faith and comes very close to the "historism" against

which Ritschl and Herrmann warned. These lectures, when published, immediately called forth a number of replies. Those by Cremer and Loisy are known in English translations; that by Lepsius, which several competent critics have pronounced the best of them all, is little known even in Germany.

It is a mistake to regard the history-of-religion school as an offshoot from Ritschlianism. Without doubt Ritschl's emphasis upon history exerted an influence upon the immediate founders of the new school, and it is an interesting fact that these men sat at his feet in Göttingen. But it is certain that they early became conscious of a fundamental difference from Ritschl. Not only the Ritschlian concentration upon the person of Jesus Christ but also the position respecting mysticism and metaphysics is repudiated by the history-of-religion school. It is impossible to name any man as the proper founder of the new school, although it is well known that the leader of the little group in Göttingen, who almost from the first consciously regarded themselves as constituting a "religionsgeschichtliche Schule," was Albert Eichhorn. The men of this group drew their inspiration from various sources, notably from Lagarde, Wellhausen, Pfleiderer, and Harnack, but also in a measure from Ritschl. The new movement, which had been long preparing, arrived at clear self-consciousness in the late eighties. And this took place—it is interesting to remember—in Ritschl's Göttingen. Eichhorn, although early removing to Halle, continued in close touch with his friends in Göttingen. In addition to Eichhorn the group in its original compass consisted of Wrede, Gunkel, Johannes Weiss, Troeltsch, and Bousset. All of them have made distinguished names for themselves, although Eichhorn, because of a serious nervous malady, has been able to write but little. Wrede, Weiss, and Bousset died "in the midst of their years"; Gunkel and Troeltsch continue in rich productivity. The latter is the systematic theologian and acknowledged leader of the school. He is a thinker of great energy and fertility, and his interests lie in many fields. He has given almost equal attention to history, philosophy, and theology. Not long before the war he gave up his theological professorship at Heidelberg and accepted a professorship of philosophy (especially the philosophy of re-

ligion) at Berlin. Since the war he has taken no small part in the discussion of the grave political problems of the time. He is a very stirring and suggestive writer, but—unlike Gunkel—he is not a master of form. Here and there in his writings, however, one lights upon a passage that unites richness of thought with a beautiful simplicity of expression.

The history-of-religion school represents the most significant new movement in theology since Ritschl. As yet, however, neither Troeltsch nor anyone else has produced a systematic elaboration of this standpoint. This omission is to be explained by the fact that the whole tendency of the movement lies in the direction of the relaxing or even the dissolving of all dogma. For many years Troeltsch lectured on dogmatics, but the function of this discipline he conceived to be to aid the spokesmen of Christianity in their task of representing the gospel, not the setting up of norms of doctrine. As for the question of the ruling ideas of the school, the following points should be specially noted: (1) The watchword "Religionsgeschichte" signifies history of *religion*, not history of *religions*. The movement is not an attempt to build up a system of theology by means of a comparison of religions, however useful in a subordinate way such comparison may be. It is an attempt to study religion itself historically and psychologically, and to make the study of Scripture, dogma, and institution tributary to this end. (2) The school rejects every attempt to isolate religion in general or Christianity in particular from the whole complex of human life and history. While affirming the genuine reality of religious experience, it denies its grounding in a special supernatural history. In like manner it rejects the eschatological realism of the New Testament: no full consummation is to be looked for; life must be a perpetual struggle. If the isolation of Christianity in virtue of its supernatural origin must be rejected, so also its isolation from philosophy and the culture and social development of man must be denied. (3) As a corollary of this thesis stands the rather negative attitude of the school toward Christian missions. Troeltsch rejects the doctrine that Christianity in its present empirical stage of development has the vocation to propagate itself universally. Wherever, therefore, any people

has a religion that seems fitted to serve efficiently as an aid to the working out of the higher social functions of the people, let us not disturb them. Such light and truth as they may borrow from us will prove a welcome aid; but to convert them is not our task. It is only in its purest essence that we may affirm the absoluteness of Christianity.

With all that one might repudiate in the standpoint of the history-of-religion school, there is at least one great merit that all must acknowledge. This lies in the convincing clearness with which this group has shown that the essential and ultimate object of our inquiry is religion itself and its development, not its vestments and accompaniments. The "method of the history of religion" has found universal acceptance; with "positive" theologians, however, this general acceptance is joined with a vigorous rejection of the antisupernaturalistic implications of Troeltsch's standpoint. But as a general method of study "Religionsgeschichte" now enjoys universal favor.

At the close of Ritschl's life there were, apart from the budding history-of-religion school, two other noteworthy rival standpoints. These were the "Erlangen theology," represented by Frank and a group of able disciples, and the theology of the so-called biblicists, the chief of whom were Kachler and Cremer. The older liberalism, though still represented by some individuals of great ability (Lipsius and Pfleiderer), no longer exerted any very considerable influence. And as for the older mediating theology, it was already quite a thing of the past, as was also the biblicism of Beck. Both the Erlangen group and the newer biblicists, as we have seen, opposed the Ritschlian theology. The differences were real and important. And yet, as one views the controversies in the perspective of our present distance, one involuntarily gets the impression that the differences were in reality much less than they seemed.

Frank was a very impressive theologian and he won a goodly number of able disciples to his general way of thinking. Yet it is a highly significant fact that the younger dogmaticians of the Erlanger tradition have, almost without exception, acknowledged the fault of one-sidedness in Frank's subjectivism. This statement

is applicable with special emphasis to Ihmels, at present the most influential theologian of his group. Incidentally it will be of interest to note that Ihmels has resigned his Leipzig professorship and become Bishop of the Evangelical Church in the kingdom of Saxony. Seeberg, the other of Frank's two most distinguished disciples, has not departed so far as Ihmels from the subjectivistic standpoint of the Erlangen theology, although in some other respects he stands at a great distance from his teacher. Seeberg some years ago sounded forth the watchword: "A modern-positive theology." This and Theodor Kaftan's similar call for "a modern theology of the old faith" made a considerable stir for a time. At length, however, it was generally perceived that these very able and stirring theologians had brought forward "no great school-forming new idea." Long before the formal raising of the watchword, representative "positive" theologians had duly emphasized both the necessity and the feasibility of a modern exposition of the old faith. Ihmels' program, though never noisily advertised, is of far greater significance. It has been his aim to unite in his system the subjective moment of the Christian consciousness with the objective moment of the historical, biblical revelation in such a way as to accord the primacy to the latter and yet allow the former its full rightful force. This he felt that Frank had failed to do. In this aim Ihmels is supported by Girgensohn (his successor in Leipzig), Grützmacher, and Jelke. The last was originally a Ritschlian, a pupil of Reischle's. His turning to Ihmels and Kaehler is significant. It is of interest to know that the influence that led Ihmels to his modification of the Erlangen theology proceeded not from Ritschl but from Kaehler.

Cremer's influence in the last twenty years of his life (he died in 1903) was extraordinarily great. This was, however, due more to the vigor and intensity of his personality than to the scientific quality of his theology. Gradually it became clear that not Cremer but Kaehler was the really great theologian of this group. And Kaehler no less than Cremer was a great personality, even though a less polemical theologian.

Kaehler's relation to Ritschl has been much discussed. He has sometimes been called "a Ritschlian of the right wing." But

the differences are too important to permit such a classification. And Kaehler has made it plain that his agreement with Ritschl at certain important points is not due to any dependence upon that thinker. Like Ritschl he emphasized the historical revelation and the authority of the biblical testimony thereto. Other significant agreements might be noted. But there were some very important differences; the following may be the most noteworthy. Kaehler held that "the *whole* biblical Christ," as distinguished from Ritschl's (and especially Herrmann's) "historical Jesus," that is, the Christ risen and exalted as well as "the Christ of history," is the ground of faith. Ritschl's stress upon the historical and ethical character of Christianity had been so extreme as to result in his thrusting the doctrine of the Spirit into the background and rejecting the idea of a real fellowship with the exalted Christ. Over against this standpoint Kaehler, who on his own part laid great stress upon history and the historical Christ, insisted upon the equal claims of "the superhistorical" in Christianity and the believer's fellowship with the living Christ. He championed "a sound mysticism." Also he contended against Ritschl's doctrine of prayer, according to which the right of petitionary prayer was virtually denied. And finally, Ritschl's over-ethicized theology reduced the eschatological element to the lowest conceivable terms. Against this Kaehler argued very impressively. Viewed in their most general aspects Kaehler's criticisms of Ritschl relate chiefly to two marked tendencies: to effect an unwarrantable reduction and curtailment of the gospel and to put God at a distance from the individual believer.

Kaehler did not become the head of a school in the stricter sense of the term, but he was and in a large measure remains the acknowledged chief authority for a very considerable group of theologians. Also many theologians both on "the right" and on "the left" have acknowledged a large debt to him. In some quarters he has suffered because of a prejudice against the term "biblicist." But Kaehler himself abhorred "an unmediated, unmethodical biblicism"; his has been called "a clarified biblicism." He was a biblicist in the sense that he strongly insisted upon the necessity of basing theology strictly upon the historical revelation

as attested in the Bible and protested against the curtailment of anything that is an essential and organic part of that testimony. But he was at the same time decidedly "a theologian of the Christian experience."

At the time of Ritschl's death in 1889 the third of the three great "newer biblicists," Adolf Schlatter, had already begun to make a name for himself. Since that time his influence has steadily grown. He mildly repudiates the term biblicist as applied to any scientific theologian, and at the same time he frankly confesses his adherence to the standpoint commonly designated as biblicistic. The richness, depth, and suggestiveness of Schlatter's thinking are really extraordinary. His historical method, especially in his *New Testament Theology,* may be justly criticized, but it would be hard to name another living theologian who can help an earnest reader to so many deeper insights into the nature of Christianity as Schlatter is able to do.

Among the theologians of the same group Schaeder deserves special mention on account of his vigorous demand for a consistent theocentric theology. He argues that the whole history of theology from Schleiermacher to the present time has been more or less vitiated by an anthropocentric strain. He particularly blames the romanticism of Schleiermacher and the subjectivism of the Erlangen theologians. But also the pragmatic principle in Ritschlianism is strongly anthropocentric in character. Cremer, too, is anthropocentric in his one-sided emphasis upon sin and justification. Kaehler and Schlatter approach more nearly the height of a genuine theocentric theology but even these betray a vicious anthropocentric tendency.

There are to-day several conservative theologians who do not clearly represent the traditions either of the Erlangen or of the biblicistic group. One of the most noteworthy of these is Stange. He is a very modern theologian, yet in fundamental matters genuinely Lutheran. He opposes the subjectivism of Frank and also the biblicism of Cremer. Kaehler's more circumspect biblicism is not the object of his special criticism. He calls—like others before him—for "a theology of revelation." His method of determining what is revealed resembles that of Ihmels. Stange's

most important work has been done in the field of philosophy of religion. He contends with great clearness and force for the thesis that religion has its origin in a real contact with God and repudiates all subjective-psychological explanations of it. At the same time he denies that pagan religions have what deserves to be called revelation.

The last decades have witnessed a steady growth of the influence of modern psychology upon the development of systematic theology. In Germany that influence has as yet been far less significant than it has been in America. And yet it is only in Germany that a really important attempt has been made to work out a system of theology on the lines of "the psychology-of-religion method." This attempt has been made by Wobbermin; two of the projected three volumes of his work have been published. It is of interest to note that Wobbermin is anything but an extremist in his application of psychology to theology. Once a Ritschlian, he still holds fast to the primacy of historical revelation; Christianity is for him no mere subjective system of feelings and ideas; but it is psychology which for him affords the key, the method for a valid science of religion.

Two other theologians in Germany to-day deserve very special attention. These are Otto in Marburg and Heim in Tübingen. Heim is at present unquestionably the most popular teacher of systematic theology in Germany. There is a "Heim movement," a school of Heimists. But it is Otto who has scored the greater literary success. His *Das Heilige* has reached its eighth edition within about five years of its first appearance, charming and instructing thousands of readers.

Otto (born in 1869), having stood for a time under the influence of the Ritschlian theology as represented by Haering, later, with Bousset and others, espoused the Kant-Friesian philosophy of religion. But this his new standpoint proved to be one that admits of a very different development from that of Bousset. While the latter soon reached a position not far removed from the older rationalism, Otto came at length to be a vigorous contender for the right of "the irrational" in religion. By the term irrational he meant not that which stands in contradiction to

reason, but that which stands apart from and independent of reason. His book on *The Holy* has no tendency to deny the rational element in religion; its aim is to show the place and the mutual relations of each of the two moments, the rational and the irrational. And Otto ascribes to the irrational moment the primary significance. Religion springs from the immediate sense of "the numinous," the divine presence, the holy. The Ritschlian philosophy of the origin of religion as the answer to a primary ethical need is very effectually overcome by Otto, and that, too, without denying the validity of the Ritschlian argument within certain limits. At a certain level of moral and spiritual development an essential function of religion doubtless is the satisfaction of a profound ethical need. But the Ritschlian view of religion as having in the ethical interest both its origin and its goal has failed to satisfy the leading thinkers of the present day. No such person denies the essential relations subsisting between religion and ethics, and most would freely allow that the domain of religion must somehow include all that belongs to ethics. But the opinion seems now to prevail that religion stands in its own right, independent not only of philosophy but also of ethics. And as for Otto, it will be of interest to note that he is striving to make his view as serviceable as possible in the life of the church. Believing that religious instruction must be relatively powerless that is not undergirded by a sense of the gracious presence of the living God, he is doing much to inspire the clergy with a desire to do what they can for the deepening and enrichment of the spirit of worship in Christian congregations.

Karl Heim emphasizes the essential irrationality of religion even more strongly than Otto, but he does it in a different way. All actuality, he declares, is in the last analysis irrational or extra-rational. The givenness of the actual signifies for us that the one thing needful is not a rational explanation, but a right and effectual personal adjustment. In our given situation, which is our *Schicksal,* our destined lot, the question with which each is confronted is: What shall I do? Now Heim is no romanticist in theology, opposing reason with feeling. Rather he uses reason as the effectual weapon against rationalism, showing the utter

inadequacy of reason to give an answer to the question, What shall I do? We find ourselves "in the deepest need," both intellectual and moral. Intellectually regarded, our world has no clear meaning until Jesus Christ supplies the key. Morally regarded, our state, as individuals and as a race, is hopeless except as Christ supplies the needful spiritual help. Everything then depends upon our making an unconditional decision for Christ. This decision is possible by virtue of a spiritual intuition of the manifestation of God in Christ. Heim's theology is an interesting combination of a conservative biblicism and a startling modernity. He regards himself as being in general a continuator of the main tendency of Kaehler's theology. But the marked originality of his method has made him the founder of a new school.

It would be an interesting but difficult task to inquire into the influence of Ritschl upon recent theological development outside of Germany. In the present connection a very few observations must suffice. It is well known that several leading British theologians were much influenced by Ritschl. One of the earliest to propagate Ritschlian ideas in Great Britain was William Robertson Smith. It was then at his suggestion that P. T. Forsyth went to Göttingen to hear Ritschl. Forsyth was always grateful for what he learned from Ritschl, though his own position remained more conservative than that of Ritschl. The British critiques of Ritschlianism, with the exception of Orr, were for the most part appreciative. Yet both in England and America the Ritschlian influence, because of a false perspective, has generally been not very gratifying. It is a perversion of the Ritschlian principles that has so often led to a more or less agnostic theological pragmatism. In France the symbolo-fideism of Sabatier and Ménégoz was a movement akin to Ritschlianism, and in part influenced by it. But the French movement was more extreme than Ritschlianism and was unfortunately tinctured with romanticism.

Ritschl has sometimes been referred to as a theologian for a time of distress. The curtailments with which he is charged are to be explained in the light of that fact. Curtailments are an evil, but the casting out of superfluous ballast is a good thing, and Ritschl doubtless intended only the latter. A theologian for a time

of distress may win a great success for the time, but a new age must then seek a new leader. In the present instance the new leader of equal force has not yet been found, but there is an astonishing movement back to Schleiermacher; he is more studied and written about to-day than any German theologian except Luther. Among the newer men it may be that someone—possibly Heim—will yet attain to an eminence comparable with that of Ritschl in his time. In the meantime the Ritschlian influence in the modified form as represented by such men as Stephan, Bornhausen, and other disciples of Herrmann or Kaftan or Haering, remains a noteworthy factor in present-day German theology. But even these men clearly recognize certain limitations of Ritschl. They are not unmoved by the great modern revival of mysticism, but they rightly repudiate certain types of mysticism. Ritschl's suppression of petitionary prayer and his denial of an immediate relation of the individual to God they frankly repudiate. For they perceive that these positions of Ritschl signified the letting-go of elements of essential value. And they see how perilous it is to subordinate religion to the ethical, even though the ethical be conceived as having all the breadth and richness of the kingdom of God. The fundamental conception of Christianity that widely prevails to-day is far richer and more vital than that of Ritschl. Christianity means an immediate personal relation to the living God as made possible through Jesus Christ. And that relation, while including within itself every ethical meaning and value in life, is as much more than morality as the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus is more than all our ideals and endeavors.

CLIMBING ABOARD A MOVING WORLD

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NOT long ago I came upon three ministers engaged in that favorite Monday morning occupation, dissecting the ministry. They were enjoying themselves, but, to the onlooker, it did not seem that they were getting very far. Agreement was general that there was something wrong with the patient. But a common diagnosis did not appear. Listening awhile, it struck me that much of the trouble arose because the practitioners had in mind no clear idea of what the patient would look like were he in proper health.

"What," I therefore asked them, "is the minister's job to-day?"

"The modern minister," instantly replied the stout one, whose pulpit manner has impressed many a committee in search of a new preacher, "the modern minister should be the voice to which men in this distracted period will listen, interpreting the age to itself."

"No," shot back the slight, nervous one, whose gift of epigram adds to his real powers of insight, "the work of the minister is to interpret the ages to the age. If he does that, this present age will come to understand itself."

"Rats," snorted the tall, powerful one. "You fellows are indulging in a bunch of glittering generalities that don't mean anything. Get down to cases. What does the modern church want of its preacher? I've got that kind of a church, and I know. The modern church wants a minister who is part organizer, part executive, part preacher, part civic leader, part educator, and part financial wizard. He must be able to do just about everything, and do it all pretty well. Some churches will provide staff for details, but the minister must be able to get the work out of the staff. Now tell me, leaving out the highbrow generalizations, isn't that the job they put up to the modern minister?"

Of course, the stout preacher and the slight preacher refused to allow their answers to be ruled out, and when I left, the argument was still in progress, and agreement still out of sight. Nor am I one to judge between them. But, whichever one was right, or if they were all right (as I suspect), one fact is beyond denial, namely, that the minister's job just now is a hard one. The landscape is not cluttered over with the figures of those who are making a conspicuous success of it.

The ministry comes near to presenting a pathetic aspect these days. It is full of good men, earnest men, men who give every evidence of a sincere desire to lend a hand in the salvation of society from the quagmire into which we have fallen. But, with only a few exceptions, these men, with all their ordinations and all their training, seem tied by bands of futility. They go peering about, apologetically, like near-sighted strangers lost in a crowd.

The church naturally suffers with its ministry. "In their attitude toward the church," begins an article in a magazine that came to my desk this morning, "thinking people nowadays fall into three classes; their feeling is one of ridicule, or pity, or indifference, and the worst of these is indifference." And if you will analyze those three emotions—ridicule, pity, indifference—I think that you will agree that they are most easily called forth at sight of what is interpreted as timidity.

The church is held to be timid, and the ministry discounted for the same cause. Yet when you consider the thing that the minister is called upon to do, you may not wonder at his hesitation.

For two hundred years the Christian ministry lived in a fairly fixed world. The Catholic priest on one side, the Protestant pastor on the other, both had their standards of authority, their doctrinal formulas set forth in words with an accepted content, so that both could hold close grip upon their world. But a little more than fifty years ago the world started running away from them. Faster and faster it whirled into strange orbits, until the World War knocked off the last brake.

And now the minister stands, in the presence of this moving world, alas, too often, beside it rather than on it, and wondering, a bit pathetically, how he can ever climb aboard. Here is the

train, the world. Here are the coach doors, open. But the train is moving already, and gathering speed. Dare he make the leap aboard? And, if he dares, how is he to do it in safety? For there is an art, as any railroader and most commuters can tell you, in jumping aboard a moving train. And certainly there is an art, known to but few, in landing in safety on a moving world.

How is the minister to climb aboard this moving world? In many ways. For one thing, by proper reading. It is astonishing how many are the titles on the lists of the publishers that are designed to make the conditions, tendencies and spirit of this world, in whole and in parts, known. Increasingly are there appearing facilities for the placing of knowledge of these books at the disposal of all who desire it.

England has long enjoyed competent book reviewing. The United States is just beginning to possess it, but the supply is already surprisingly ample. In and about New York there are several newspapers that make an effort to give sincere reviews of most of the significant volumes from the publishers' general lists. The same thing is, I am informed, true of at least one newspaper in Boston, one in Philadelphia, and two or three in Chicago. As to conditions in other cities, I am ignorant. To those outside the territory of these papers, one is justified in recommending the Literary Review published every Saturday by the New York Evening Post, which is mailed separate from the rest of the paper to subscribers in almost every State and many foreign countries.

Beyond the review columns of the dailies (which should always be read with reserve until the policy of the paper is proven sincere) there are the reviews in the numerous weeklies, and in many of the monthlies. On the whole, these are of more value than the notices in the newspapers. There are one or two monthlies, of which the Bookman is the leader, entirely given to a review of the book market. And I find myself coming month after month to the Atlantic Monthly, not so much for the reviews printed there (although those reviews are of value), as for the extensive listing of publishers' announcements, that most fascinating of all advertising.

Beyond the reviews and the advertisements the minister, in

his search for those books that will put him aboard this moving world, should make friends with the libraries. Modern librarians may be among the most useful of public servants. Many of them will do more for the minister, in suggesting significant reading, than any reviewer. And the facilities of the libraries will go far toward making available those volumes that few ministers can afford to purchase.

What sort of books should the minister read? If he really is determined to climb aboard this world I believe he should read books of all sorts. Novels? Certainly. Economics? Politics? Psychology? Sociology? All of them. Plays? Yes, some of them. Theology? That I take for granted. Poetry? Some of it you dare not pass by. Science? Surely. In truth, it is hard to think of a single type of book that the public is buying with which the modern minister should not be familiar.

One reason for the minister's present plight is his failure in the past to do a lot of "general" reading. Church authorities must shoulder some of the responsibility here. Prescribed lists of books, held within a necessarily narrow range, have given the idea that all the minister's reading is necessarily narrow. The publications of denominational houses have not, in the past, always helped to dispel this idea. They are doing better nowadays.

Once upon a time there was a missionary in—well, never mind just where. And this missionary went to a summer resort where, in company with a lot of other missionaries, she got a certain sort of religious reaction. And under that influence she resolved not to read any book but the Bible and not to sing any songs save hymns for a year. Now, in the mercy of providence, it happened that this girl was under the direction of one of the wisest bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. So that bishop, hearing of that resolve, ordered a bookstore to send her a dozen of the latest novels, and then, as her bishop, ordered her to read them. It was episcopal autocracy of the rankest kind. I presume such a use of authority ought to be denounced in every Conference in Methodism. But it saved that girl to a career of useful service.

That was an extreme case. But the extreme cases make the clearest illustrations. What I am trying to suggest is that any

religious worker who wants to get aboard this moving world will do well to begin by reading extensively and omnivorously.

After one has considered the reading of books, it is necessary to treat the matter of periodicals. This world is moving so fast that it has gone by before a lot of books ever get off the press. There is not, so far as I know, a book in print giving an adequate treatment of the situation as it now stands in China, India, Russia, or the Near East. Periodicals the preacher must read, but *what* periodicals, and *how?*

Let us deal with the hardest question first, the minister and his daily newspaper. The minister has his daily newspaper, and doubtless feels that he must have. But the daily paper, while indispensable, is beyond question one of the most dangerous instruments in our American society.

A couple of years ago I was discussing the building of a better world order with a member of the editorial staff of one of New York's best known newspapers. "How are we to get it while the newspapers are conducted as they are?" I asked.

"The newspapers?" he retorted. "The only way we'll ever get a better world will be to suppress every newspaper for at least twenty years!"

Of course, that is only the hyperbole of informal conversation. But it gives an index of the way in which well-informed journalists regard their own profession. I presume that there is not a newspaper in the world to-day that can be read with absolute trust. Nor will there ever be. Some of them are trying hard to insure the accuracy of the material that they print. Others—and often these rank high in public esteem, some higher than they deserve—do not try so hard.

To understand this present world the minister must know what is going on in all its parts. But the foreign news of the newspaper is not something that, with some exceptions, it controls. The American newspaper buys its foreign service from some agency, perhaps the Associated Press, or the United Press, or the Public Ledger service, or the Hearst service, or some other. That service has its men in important capitals, but it cannot pretend to cover all the spots on earth where news breaks. Hence, it

buys much of its news from other sources. And these other sources are frequently anything but unbiased.

For example, a few years ago the Reuter agency, the largest of the British agencies, with which the Associated Press works in close concord, made an agreement with the Kokusai agency, the official Japanese agency, whereby the Reuter correspondents were withdrawn from Japan, and Reuter disseminated the Kokusai reports of Japanese events as its own. To this day it is probable that the public served by the Reuter cables (which means the British colonies as well as England) does not dream that, when it reads of political or other occurrences in which Japan is involved, it is reading an interpretation that originated in a semi-official department of the Japanese government itself.

Most of the European agencies are subsidized by certain governments, just as many European newspapers are the secret possession of political groups. And the minister who seeks to find a real picture of this moving world in his newspaper will need to spend months, even years, checking up on the items that are printed, until he unconsciously gives to each the discount that its source requires. This is not an easy thing to do. But it is a necessary thing, and it can be done.

Even more necessary is it to study the particular paper or papers that the minister habitually reads. After all, a newspaper is just the projection of a man or a corporation, and after that man's point of view is known, or the allegiances of the corporation discovered, it is not hard to measure the size of the pinches of salt with which the paper's contents are to be swallowed. Most newspapers require much seasoning.

It is not so much in the editorials that the modern newspaper attempts to put across its bias. The editorial page is an avowed expression of opinion, and therefore discounted. But the dirty work comes when the head-writer gets in his art. Most people get their impression of the contents of a newspaper from the headlines. Almost no busy man reads his paper through. And newspaper owners do not hesitate to build their headlines so that they give an impression that is often unwarranted even by the articles printed beneath them.

Two or three years ago two responsible American journalists analyzed the treatment of Russian news by what is probably the most reputable daily in this country. They paid no attention to editorials, for they acknowledged the right of the editors to think as they pleased and write as they pleased, editorially, on the Russian situation. But they showed how, by subtle shades of phrasing in headlines, by "playing down" this dispatch under small headlines, and "playing up" another dispatch under large, this newspaper had given its readers a totally misleading impression of what was going on in Russia. It had pushed its readers off, rather than helped them on, this moving world.

The minister who is going to use the daily newspaper at all must resolutely take the time to be sure he knows what its dispatches really say, and not what the head-writers interpret them as saying. Then he must form the habit of asking, "Where did this originate? Just how responsible were the witnesses? What is the probable story back of it?" And perhaps, at last, in despair, he will reach the point where he believes nothing he sees in print, at least without overwhelming corroboration.

Much better is the condition when you pass into the field of the weeklies and monthlies. The minister who wants to understand his times dare not neglect these. They are of all kinds, and naturally he will read those that most attract him. I cannot forbear from saying a word about the value of the liberal weeklies.

The emergence of the liberal weeklies is an indication of the decrease in confidence in the dailies. Nor are the liberal weeklies to be swallowed without inspection. I find it necessary to disagree with much that is in a paper like The Nation, for example. But I would not, because of that, deprive myself of the invaluable documents printed weekly in its International Relations Section. I know that the philosophy of many of the writers for The New Republic is not mine, but I will not, for that reason, turn my back on the best informed discussion of foreign political events that I have found in America.

To the side of these American liberal weeklies there has recently come another of almost greater value, the weekly edition of the Manchester Guardian. And, personally, I find something I

do not find in any of these in The Living Age and (in an entirely different realm) in The Survey.

Of the monthlies, you pays your money and you takes your choice. Some of them—particularly, I should say, The Atlantic and The Century—are of peculiar value in giving touch with the present world. The Review of Reviews and World's Work also have a contribution to make. This new magazine, Our World, starts out valiantly to do service in the very line we are considering. And we who have had touch with the Far East never tire of recommending Asia to our friends. This is not, of course, a complete list. It is not a list that every minister will adopt, nor should. The man who wants to get aboard the world will have to do his own choosing. And it is his good fortune to have so wide a choice.

I have not said anything about religious journals. I do not know that I need to do so. Intentionally I will omit any reference to the denominational press, taking it for granted that the minister is familiar with what that offers. I am not sure, however, that all are familiar with such a quarterly as The International Review of Missions, or its more popular monthly companion, The Missionary Review of the World. The former is peculiarly keen in its appreciation of the relation between the world's political and social problems and the outreaching of the Church to new lands.

Many ministers will find a broadening of horizon in The British Weekly, that mouthpiece of the free churches of England, so magnificently edited by Sir W. Robertson Nicoll.

So it seems clear that the minister who wishes to climb aboard this moving world must make his first effort through wide and adventurous reading. Then let him travel.

Why that wonderful sixteenth century that we call the Age of Discovery? Because of those eleventh and twelfth centuries, when priest, knight, yeoman, even the little children, lured by the Holy Sepulcher, traveled. It was impossible for Europe to think in terms of petty principalities after its eyes had seen the empires of the East, and an entirely new world resulted within a few generations.

This is the day of all days in which the minister should travel. First-hand contact with the buffeted, bewildered peoples who fill this globe will save him from a lot of the hazy and stereotyped thinking about "foreigners" that has stood so long in the path of international understanding.

Nor is travel as difficult as many conceive. To the man who does not demand de luxe accommodations, who is willing to eschew the tourist hotels for the sake of rubbing up against the real life of the people, it is often possible to spend a month or more in some new environment at a cost not much greater than that of staying at home.

Even when the cost requires sacrifice, the preacher can ask himself whether any other expenditure will give greater returns in fitness for his task. A little self-denial should make it possible for five thousand Methodist preachers during every quadrennium to see at first hand the life of some other nation. Examination will surprise many ministers who have regarded the possibility of travel as so remote that they have never inquired as to the actual costs.

It is possible to travel at home. Not into other countries, geographically speaking, but into uncharted realms of human living. Every minister knows how easy it is to spend his time in contact with a very limited group of folks—the people in his constituency. It would be a good thing for many a preacher to neglect the president of the board of trustees and the president of the Ladies' Aid Society for a couple of weeks, and achieve some measure of intimacy with the president of a union local, or a self-supporting young business woman of the type that seldom appears in his congregation.

One of the pathetic things during the war, it seemed to me, was the large amount of writing, in the religious press, by chaplains and other preachers in khaki, concerning the point of view of the man outside the church. Not that it was not a good thing for them to discover that point of view, but that it took an earthquake of such proportions to shake them out of their complacent ruts into a place where they had to learn that there were huge masses of men—the sort who are doing a large part of the work of the world—with a point of view that they had never known

existed. And they thought it necessary to rush to their brethren who had stayed at home with news of their discovery. Evidently, they did not believe that their brethren knew these men outside, either.

When we recall the personal contacts that Jesus established in that little bit of a bigoted stretch of country in which he lived (we don't really recall them, except in a literary sense, for our imaginations are simply not up to thinking of our Master as running around with a lot of grafting politicians, loose women, and community black sheep) we realize how vast a difference there was between him and the usual preacher. If Jesus had been living in New York a dozen years ago I am sure that he would never have been content until he had struck up a friendship with Big Tim Sullivan, that overlord of the East Side, who made his money in devious ways, and spent it on free ice and free milk and free shoes for the poor. But it is not in the records that many clergymen made the effort to understand their city-world that would have required gaining the confidence of Tim Sullivan. Theodore Roosevelt did.

Any minister who has the slightest desire to know what sort of a world this is to-day will never be content with a restricted group of personal contacts. He will never find authority in this day until he can cease to speak pontifically of "problems," and show that he comprehends those problems in their human aspect. Lynn Harold Hough, with his touch with men who have defied the dicta of society, is a shining example of the minister who can testify to the truth of this.

Somewhere in any paper directed mainly toward Methodist ministers, it should be said that one of the best ways now open to the preacher by which to broaden his outlook, prepare him for new contacts, and lift him aboard this moving world, is to enroll him in the membership of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. I will not extol the features of that membership at length, for fear that the editor will accuse me of trying to put over a free advertisement. It is enough to say that, when a man comes to it asking for a point of contact with this age, it has great things to offer him.

Of course, such things as have been suggested here are of no value unless the minister possesses an open mind. The traditional Scotchman who was open to conviction, but yearned to meet the man who could convince him, was doomed to spend his days in a Scotch world. The preacher who formed all his opinions before he left school, and glories, like Rome, in his unchangeableness, has no chance to get aboard a world that is changing every half hour.

And, after he has once managed to scramble aboard, he will find that his seat is far from secure. So dizzy is the pace at which the world is whirling that any man is sure to be thrown off who does not continue the process by which he gained his place. For here is the place at which our analogy with a train breaks down. Once aboard this present world, we cannot sink into an upholstered seat and watch, without effort, the landscape pass by. Ours is an Alice-in-Wonderlandish sort of a train, and once we get aboard we must keep up the mad gallop ahead that put us there.

It may be said that this will take time and effort. It will. It will take more time and effort than one preacher in a hundred is now devoting to this side of his ministry. But it all comes back to the question as to what the minister must do to make his ministry felt in this present world. If he must show at least an acquaintance with, if not a mastery of, all its elements, what effort less than this will enable him to face his own conscience?

BACK TO METHUSELAH: A DRAMA OF PERSONALISM

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Many reviews have appeared since the publication of Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah,* but none, to my knowledge, has stressed the dominant note of personalism which pervades the entire drama. Some have emphasized the doctrine of evolution set over against the Darwinian type of evolution which Shaw seeks to demolish. Others are concerned with the political views of Burge and Lubin, who are really Lloyd George and Asquith in disguise. Still others are interested in his unique doctrine of longevity. It is our purpose to indicate the personalistic philosophy in the drama and to refer to other themes only in so far as they are related to the teaching of creative evolution, which is closely allied to personalism.

Let us state briefly the philosophy of personalism with some historical applications and then let us see whether Shaw's play conforms to this teaching and is, in reality, a dramatic presentation of personalism.

As a doctrine of knowledge personalism holds that the mind is not a *tabula rasa,* according to Locke, upon which the outer world registers what comes to it. It maintains rather with Kant that "the understanding makes nature."[1] This doctrine was proclaimed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Rousseau, Gibbon, and Smith wrote their monumental works and the Declaration of Independence set forth its views of freedom and equality. Modern history is simply the recital of emancipation from the fetters of social, political, intellectual, and spiritual enthraldom. This era has witnessed the freedom of the slave, the resistance and overthrow of tyrannical government, the betterment of social conditions, the equality of woman, and the growing democracy of all mankind. The marvelous progress in every field of human endeavor during the last century, especially along in-

[1]Bowne, *Theory of Thought and Knowledge.*

dustrial and commercial lines, but also in the intellectual and spiritual life, has been due to the modern view that man is active rather than passive, the arbiter of his own destinies rather than the victim of blind and mechanical forces working upon him from without. This new doctrine of sociology, economics, religion, and philosophy has changed the world in its every aspect; and, instilled into the very life-blood of the people, is working the elimination of all evils and the amelioration of all inequalities and injustices. Our nation was born in the transitional period between the old philosophy of passivity and the new philosophy of activity, and the fact that our national life has been dominated by this latter philosophy accounts, in large measure, for our phenomenal growth and progress.

As a doctrine of reality personalism holds that reality is personal rather than impersonal. It maintains that reality is that which lives, thinks, wills, acts, and abides. It finds room for the freedom of the will, for the activity of the mind in knowledge, for the great fact of permanence as well as for unlimited progress and development. It affirms the sacredness of personality and declares truth to be personal rather than abstract in its essential nature. "I am the Way and the Truth and the Life."[2]

Now our interest in *Back to Methuselah* is not to discuss this work as a drama, nor to determine its style and literary qualities, but to point out that Shaw's philosophy, beneath all the fantastic imagery and grotesque setting of the play, is essentially the philosophy of personalism. Shaw's philosophy is preeminently one of being. His great insistence is upon life, longer, larger, richer, more abundant. In his Introduction, referring to the Darwinian philosophy, he declares: "We were intellectually intoxicated with the idea that the world could make itself without design, purpose, skill, or intelligence: in short, without life."[3]

Speaking of Lilith, the mother of Adam and Eve, he says: "I brought life into the whirlpool of force and compelled my enemy, Matter, to obey a living soul. But in enslaving Life's enemy I made Life's master; for that is the end of all slavery;

[1] Bowne, *Metaphysics*.

[2] P. lii, Introduction. All references are to Shaw unless otherwise stated.

and now I shall see the slave set free and the enemy reconciled, the whirlpool become all life and no matter. . . . Of life only is there no end."[4] Shaw asserts that the scientific effort to find life has failed, for the investigators "overlook the element of life which makes all the difference between a mixture of salts and gases and a living organism."[5]

Thought occupies a prominent place in Shaw's philosophy and the will occupies the central authority. His advice is to fix the mind on a thought and then to achieve it. "The driving force behind evolution is a will-to-live, and to live, as Christ said long before, more abundantly."[6] "We are continually urged upward by a driving force called the Will of God."[7]

In Part V we see Shaw the philosopher giving a splendid imitation of Rodin's "Thinker," for he is in his most reflective mood. Here he beholds the world in 31,920, in which thought reigns supreme. "Nothing remains beautiful and interesting except thought, because the thought is the life."[8] And he carries this idea to an extremely idealistic plane. "The day will come when there will be no people, only thought. And that will be life eternal."[9]

Shaw finds no trouble in reconciling the facts of permanence and progress, but his great emphasis is upon the progressive expression of life. To his mind there is no conflict between the static and the progressive elements in society. Burge stands for progress and Lubin for permanence, but later in the play Shaw merges the two characters into a dual personality and in this way effects a reconciliation between apparent contradictions. Burge, addressing Lubin, speaks of "the great movement of mankind, the giant sweep of the ages."[10] Conrad, the biologist, affirms the permanency of life. "The Eternal life persists; only It wears out Its bodies and minds and gets new ones, like new clothes."[11]

In Part IV the Elderly Gentleman, employing a Pindaric figure, regards "civilization and learning, art and science, as an everburning torch, which passes from the hand of one generation to the hand of the next, each generation kindling it to a brighter,

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[4]P. 300. [5]P. 291. [6]P. 260. [7]P. xxxiv. [8]P. 290. [9]P. xxxiii. [10]P. 67. [11]P. 85.

prouder flame."[12] In the same vein he speaks of "the great march of Progress." "Mankind gains in stature, from generation to generation, from epoch to epoch, from barbarism to civilization, from civilization to perfection."[13]

The dramatist refutes the Darwinian type of evolution with great vehemence and yet, in fairness, he admits that much evidence can be presented to substantiate Darwin's claims. The fact is that either side may say anything it pleases, for neither is able, with the evidence available, to put the other to rout. Shaw appears to approximate Bowne's views on evolution. As a tentative description of the order of creation it is interesting, but as an explanation of First Causes it is futile and harmless. In other words, its description of the phenomenal order has some value, but as a doctrine of causation it is misleading and untrustworthy.[14]

Shaw's evolution, like that of Bergson, is creative. Strange it is that he makes no reference to Bergson's *Creative Evolution*, although he uses this phrase and also *élan vital* several times in the Introduction and in the course of the play. He makes his appeal to the inherent creative facts rather than to the exterior selective facts in evolution and upon this interpretation he bases his argument for the further development of the race. Both the Brothers Barnabas believe in Creative Evolution. Conrad, the biologist, says: "Ever since the reaction against Darwin set in at the beginning of the present century, all scientific opinion worth counting has been converging rapidly toward Creative Evolution."[15] Franklyn, the churchman, further reflects: "Poetry has been converging on it: philosophy has been converging on it: religion has been converging on it. It is going to be the religion of the twentieth century: a religion that has its intellectual roots in philosophy and science just as medieval Christianity had its intellectual roots in Aristotle."[16]

Bowne shows that the lack of philosophical equipment thirty or forty years ago explains the flurry over evolution, the transformation of species, and the reign of law. "The new wine of science and evolution went to the head and produced many woes

[12]P. 184. [13]P. 184. [14]Bowne, *Personalism*, p. 242. [15]P. 91. [16]P. 91.

and more babblings."[17] "The truth about man had been found out, and the truth was that instead of being a child of the Highest, he is merely the highest of the animals, having essentially the same history and destiny as they—birth, hunger, labor, weariness, and death."[18] "We are not simply the highest in the animal world; we are also and more essentially children of the Highest. This is the true evolution. Man is making, he is not yet made."[19]

So far as the Brothers Barnabas are concerned no conflict exists between science and religion. One discusses the problem of life from a scientific angle and the other from the theological angle, but neither finds lack of unity and purpose in the scheme of things. Such an attitude is sane and wholesome when we consider the wrangle between these factions at the close of the last century.

In dealing with the problem of life Shaw regards the function of science as essentially descriptive and openly and honestly neglectful of the soul reality which lies outside its legitimate province. Conrad, the scientist, has the good sense to realize that "the Fall is outside Science."[20] The Elderly Gentleman admits that science has increased our knowledge, but he is unwilling to grant that it has brought us nearer to life and consciousness.[21] At the present time there is a clearer understanding of the business of science and the business of philosophy, especially metaphysics. Science has been "taught its place,"[22] while a quarter of a century ago science usurped its proper sphere and endeavored to inform us what life is. To-day it is content to describe the phenomena of life, making its contribution to philosophy and rightly allowing philosophy to attack the problem of life and its essential nature.

Shaw endeavors also to clarify the problem of religion. He feels that the true scientist will find room for the contentions of religion and that even belief in the Holy Ghost and the Will of God may be the most scientific of all facts.[23] Darwinism had crushed out all the finer capacities of our best nature, including pity, loyalty, and fellowship.

"Miserably as religion had been debased, it did at least still

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[17] *Personalism*, p. 10. [18] *Personalism*, p. 11. [19] *Personalism*, p. 300.
[20] P. 86. [21] P. 180. [22] P. 182. [23] P. xxxiii.

proclaim that our relation to one another was that of a fellowship in which we were all equal and members one of another before the judgment-seat of our common father. Darwinism proclaimed our true religion is that of competitors and combatants in a struggle for mere survival, and that every act of pity or loyalty to the old fellowship is a vain and mischievous attempt to lessen the severity of the struggle and preserve inferior varieties from the efforts of Nature to weed them out."[24] Shaw's conception of religion is decidedly individualistic. "Protestantism was a movement toward the pursuit of a light called an inner light because every man must see it with his own eyes and not take any priest's words for it or any church's account of it."[25]

During the course of the play Shaw pays his respects to the Bible and Christ. He believes that the account of Creation has not been superseded by any modern discoveries and that Christ is still the goal and the ideal of human effort. Franklyn says: "The most scientific document we possess at present is, as your grandmother would have told you quite truly, the story of the Garden of Eden."[26] Pygmalion adds his word of testimony to the credulity of the Scripture record: "One of the very oldest documents we possess mentions a tradition of a biologist who extracted certain unspecified minerals from the earth and, as it quaintly expresses it, "breathed into their nostrils the breath of life. This is the only tradition from the primitive ages which we can regard as really scientific."[27]

In the introduction Shaw declares: "The driving force behind Evolution is a will-to-live, and to live, as Christ said long before, more abundantly."[28] He also speaks of "Christlike principles"[29] governing the course of our conduct.

The conflict between materialism and the spiritual view of life is strikingly set forth in the struggle between Cain, the digger in the soil, and Abel, the hunter.[30] Here is a contest between brute force and the force of the spirit and is in reality an epitome of the world struggle between these opposing elements. Cain is the challenger of all that is peaceful and serene, a creator whose will it is that there shall be war and hate and extermination,

[24] P. lix. [25] P. lxxxii. [26] P. 84. [27] P. 260. [28] P. xxxiv. [29] P. 186. [30] P. 21.

while Abel is the upholder of peace, happiness, and fellowship, of all that is highest and best in human achievement. In a similar manner the conflict between life and matter is described in one of Bergson's essays.[31] Later in the play Napoleon represents brute force, but even he himself realizes that men are superior to mere things. "It is the only thing that matters: the value of human life is the value of the greatest living man."[32]

A personalistic interpretation of life pervades the play, for the soul is regarded as real and the body as ephemeral. "My body is dust, madam: not my soul. What does it matter what my body is made of? the dust of the ground, the particles of the air, or even the slime of the ditch? The important thing is that when my Creator took it, whatever it was, he breathed into its nostrils the breath of life; and Man became a living soul. I am not the dust of the ground: I am a living soul."[33] And, again, we read from another witness: "This is my body, my blood, my brain; but it is not me. I am the eternal life, the perpetual resurrection."[34]

Shaw has a wholesome view on the subject of relativity. We do not know all things, but we can know in part and upon this foundation build the superstructure of our life and thought. "We cannot disdain Knowledge and shirk responsibility. We must proceed on assumptions of some sort or we cannot form a human society.[35]

Shaw's evaluation of art is quite different from Bergson's.[36] The latter thinks that when we behold a statue, for example, we catch a glimpse of life at that particular moment by a displacement or detachment of our attention. Shaw thinks that the statue is lifeless and for this reason illusive and meaningless for study and contemplation.[37]

His conception of civilization is pervaded by the philosophy of personalism. Otherwise it would be a failure and doomed to destruction. The fact that resident within it are these progressive and dynamic elements preserves it from wreckage and gives it sufficient vital force to perpetuate itself. In the final utterance of

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[31] *The Meaning of the War.* [32] P. 206. [33] P. 177. [34] P. 286.
[35] P. 178. [36] Bergson, *La Perception du Changement.* [37] P. 291.

Mother Lilith this outlook for the history of the race is set forth: "And because these infants that call themselves ancients are reaching out toward that, I will have patience with them still; though I know well that when they attain it they shall become one with me."[38] In this unity of life the duality of life and matter will be eliminated. The desire to reach longevity is merely a concrete and tangible suggestion as to how we may realize this larger, richer, fuller life, which is the essence of personalism.

Whether Shaw intended or not that this personalistic note should be the major or minor theme in his play, he has certainly given such prominence to it that those familiar with current tendencies in philosophy can scarcely fail to recognize that *Back to Methuselah* is at least a drama of personalism.

[38] P. 300.

THE THOUGHT DRAMA OF EPHESUS

A Study in the Development of Religious Thought

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OF the five ancient cities that have left the greatest impress upon the thought-life of the world, the last to emerge into full recognition is Ephesus. Athens, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome—these we know and their fruits; but Ephesus, ancient Asian center of religion and philosophy, source of mighty currents of world-thought, how little of her just due has been given her! Although she has for centuries lain ruined, deserted, half buried, like her great goddess of the marshes, yet her voice is still heard in our churches and universities and her influence still moves through all the foremost literatures of the world.

I

That which first arises before the imagination when one thinks of ancient Ephesus is the majestic temple of Artemis, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, whose broken columns, recovered through excavations made by J. T. Wood (1863-1874), now in the British Museum, still convey an impression of its ancient grandeur. In the Artemisium was worshiped the Great Mother—not of the mountain top, as at other of her shrines, but as goddess of the valley and plain where abundance and fertility reach their height. This majestic shrine was the center of that widespread cult of the *Mater Magna* which grew out of and dominated the religious life of Asia Minor. Here the goddess was worshiped, not in the frenzied and repellent forms which elsewhere prevailed, but in the solemn splendor and restraint imposed by the Greek mind as it took over this crude worship, fused it with that of its own more chaste Artemis, and gave it a shrine and a cultus which became the chief sanctuary of the Nature worship of the ancient world.

II

About the time that the worship of the Lady of the Marshes, the fecund, the many-breasted mother of plants, of animals, and of men, reached its height, there appeared in Ephesus (540-475 B. C.) the philosopher of fire and flux, the protagonist of the dry light of reason, the prophet of seclusion and sanity and speculation, Heraclitus, "the dark philosopher." Silent, somber, grave, "he who rails at the people" stood aloof from the thoughtless throng of the votaries of Artemis and from the vantage ground of his seclusion sent forth laconic, often caustic, shafts of insight and wisdom which revealed the vanity of his nature-worshiping fellow-citizens and prepared the way for the downfall of the mighty pillars of the temple of Artemis and the desolation of her shrine. The comments of Heraclitus upon the religion of his time were such as these:

> The mysteries practised among men are unholy mysteries, the phallic hymn is shameful; in their sacrifices they vainly purify themselves by defiling themselves with blood; in their prayer to the images, it is as if one were to talk with a man's house.[1]

"Looking below the surface, what in reality is this revered productivity of Nature, this Earth Goddess," mused Heraclitus, "what but the food of perpetual, all-consuming change?" The senses are "bad witnesses." "All things flow." "Everything is and is not."

And yet, while all is subject to change, change is not the whole story. The world is not a multiplicity of things unrelated and evanescent. There is one all-pervasive *substance* underlying all change. Instead of moisture, fertility, typified by the Goddess of the Marshes, the elemental reality, according to Heraclitus, is *fire*.

> All things are an exchange for fire, and fire for all things, even as wares for gold and gold for wares.
>
> This world, which is the same for all, no one of gods or men has made; but it was ever, is now, and ever shall be an ever-living fire, with measures kindling and measures going out.

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[1] Fragments. For an excellent summary of the philosophy of Heraclitus, see "The Importance of Heraclitus," Theodore De Laguna, The Philosophical Review, May, 1921, p. 253.

Fire and water contend with one another. "Pleasure" is the activity of the water in man. "It is pleasure to souls to become moist." The fluid state is associated with passion, lust, the absence of the control of reason. Fire is the rational element. It embodies sanity, self-control, reason. "The dry soul is the wisest and best."

The great discovery of Heraclitus is not his perception of the universality of change—characteristic as that is—but his discernment of the universality of the *order which runs through all change*—the Logos.

It is coming to be conceded that when the endeavor is made to trace this concept of the Logos—which is found in all developed religious philosophies—to its source, it is to be attributed, so far as its emergence in Greek philosophy is concerned, to Ephesus, and to the mind of this profound thinker, who saw beneath or within perpetual change the one universal, pervasive *reason*.

Wisdom is one thing. It is to know the thought by which all things are steered through all things.

All things come to pass in accordance with this Word. There is one wisdom, to understand the intelligent will by which all things are governed through all.

To this universal Reason which I unfold, although it always exists, men make themselves insensible, both before they have heard it and when they have heard it for the first time.

III

It was no accident that some five hundred years after the appearance of Heraclitus' treatise "On Nature" one wrote from the same city: "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God and the Logos was divine. All things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men."

That this "Ephesian Gospel" should open with the Heraclitean Logos idea, which had by this time passed through the alembic of the mind of Plato, been tempered by the universalizing of Stoicism and become diffused throughout the Roman Empire, is surely most significant. It reveals the power of the new faith to lay hold of the best of ancient thought, give it a new and larger meaning, and baptize it into the name of Christ.

This seizure of the Logos idea by Christianity was more than the skillful adaptation of a religious, as well as rational, concept. For in the prologue of the Fourth Gospel the Logos has not only taken on vastly larger and more spiritual implications, but it has also been *personalized* and that in a most daring and even startling manner. Indeed, the author of the Fourth Gospel made perhaps the most far-reaching, and in some respects the most venturesome, religious and philosophic synthesis ever made—that of conceiving the Universal Reason concentrated into one luminous focal point, one divine-human personality. *And the Logos was made flesh and dwelt among us.*

This individual and unique incarnation of the Word by no means excludes universal incarnation. Indeed, its incarnation in Christ gains significance because of the fact that the light that lighteth every man coming into the world, while it shines through each life that is true to itself, is here revealed in its complete glory —full of grace and truth.

IV

Yet it was not through the author of the Fourth Gospel that the evangel of the Incarnate Word was first proclaimed in the city of Artemis. On the contrary it was by that ardent apostle of the Christian faith who brought the news of the Way to Ephesus and thereby incidentally so injured the traffic in the images of the goddess as to lead to the fear that "the temple of the great goddess Diana be made of no account and that she should even be deposed from her magnificence whom all Asia and the world worshipeth." The riot described in the Acts,[1] the uproar and the vehement outcry prolonged "for about the space of two hours," "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" was not without meaning. That wild cry was in reality the dirge of the mighty goddess of the marshes.

Paul, too, was a teacher of the Logos, in his own way. Contrary to the customary idea, the Pauline gospel was grounded as deeply and securely in the Logos truth as was the Johannine. Doubtless Paul's preaching at Ephesus began, as it did at Corinth,

[1]Chapter 19.

with the message of Jesus Christ and him crucified, but in the months of reasoning in the school of Tyrannus there is every reason to believe that the apostle laid down those profound rational foundation principles of the gospel which later appeared so richly in the epistles to the Corinthians and in those of the imprisonment.

It is true that Paul does not use the term Logos, but in "the mystery which hath been hid in God who created all things . . . revealing . . . the manifold wisdom of God according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ" (Eph. 3. 9-11) there is indubitable evidence of the same fundamental conception which appears in the more measured and impressive harmony of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. Indeed, the John, whoever he was, who wrote these words of immortal import was probably indebted to Paul, more even than to Heraclitus and Plato, for his pregnant interpretation of the Logos idea, at all events for its adaptation to Jesus Christ. Nevertheless his firm grasp of the Logos conception, the assured and commanding movement of his thought, and the convincing manner in which he presents the synthesis of the Eternal Word with the Jesus of history make the author of the Ephesian gospel one of those who have done most to give to Christianity its power over the thought-life of humanity.

V

Yet, in the victory of reason over nature, of spirit over sense, of the Christ of Paul over Diana of the Ephesians, was there no instinctive element of truth on the *vanquished* side? Was there nothing for salvage in the Naturalism of the worship of the earth goddess? Was the instinct which prompted it wholly false and degrading? Must pure, rational and spiritual religion break completely with nature, renounce "all pact" with the senses, scorn music and art and all that appeals to the instinct for beauty, and withdraw into the cold chastity of barrenness and seclusion?

This is one of the perplexities of the ages, over which humanity has pondered and struggled ever since men began to think. Christianity itself has given differing answers, vacillating between ascetic denial and æsthetic cultus, between renunciation and ap-

propriation, striving after the true balance, but finding it hard to attain.

Yet Christianity's own congenital principle, based upon the Logos truth, is clear and self-consistent: *Creation is rational and good when rightly understood and used.* There is a Logos in Nature responding to the Logos in man, as Horace Bushnell used to say. "*All* things are made through him and without him was not *anything* made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men."

Paul's principle was the same. Yet Paul saw that the Logos, in nature as well as in man, had been obscured, deflected, wrested in part from its true course and end, *by that very freedom which is an essential element of the Logos itself.* In consequence there is disturbance, derangement, bondage, so that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. There must be reconciliation, restoration, before the Logos can resume its original and rightful sway. And this can come only through an incarnation of the Logos which involves *suffering.* Nothing else in the Divine Economy will—nothing else *can*—restore the disturbed harmony.

This necessity the author of the Fourth Gospel, too, recognizes. Something has cast a shadow over the divine order of nature. Sin has entered. The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness apprehended it not. The world is smitten, stained, warped from its purpose. Nor is this the specter of a jaundiced eye. Everyone who looks into nature and human nature with any degree of penetration recognizes the presence of a disturbing factor in both. Heraclitus himself saw it and incorporated it into his philosophy at least as respects human nature. "Many are bad and few good." "The masses stuff themselves like cattle."

To be sure, his solution was other than that of Christianity. He could not see that the very nature of the Logos involves its ultimate victory. Hence his hopelessness.

Yet, granted this imperfection in nature, this corruption of the Logos principle, still nature retains its original imprint. Her fundamental instincts and processes are good and not evil. There is something, for example, in the very idea of *motherhood*

—which gained so great a hold upon the Ephesians—which, if purified and rescued from abuse, is worthy of reverence. And Christianity rescued it. The Virgin Mother found a place in the Christian cult. She became in time, indeed, an object of worship, thus restoring the Ephesian error—though on a far higher level. The Reformation corrected this abuse and left us the soul of motherhood—as embodied in the Madonna—for that veneration which it should have in a comprehensive religion.

Motherhood early sought recognition in Christian theology but was not easily adjusted to the Christian ideal. In the controversies over the doctrine of the Trinity one party, led by Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, went so far as to entitle Mary "the Mother of God." This extravagant title was bitterly opposed by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople. A council was called at Ephesus in 431 and here, in the famous city of the Great Mother, Cyril with his extravagant elevation of the virgin mother was sustained by the bishops and Nestorius condemned and excommunicated. Had the old Ephesian Mother-worship anything to do with the result? Perhaps not, but at all events it is significant that the populace of Ephesus was strongly in favor of Cyril and his contention, and when the decision was made upholding him the streets were filled with torchbearers and the city illuminated, as if Diana had resumed her sway.

It was an inconsequential triumph, though it may have had some influence upon the Mariolatry of the church of Rome as well as of the East. The better judgment of the Protestant church condemned Mariolatry, but the Madonna, rescued for us by the artist, hangs upon the walls of our churches and homes and preserves for us in all its purity and sacredness something of that reverence for motherhood which ancient Ephesus desecrated by making it, and that in its physical aspect only, the object of worship.

VI

Ephesus, taught by Paul and John, found the truth which saved her from her nature-worship; and from her went forth the most profound statement of the rationality of religion in the doc-

trine of the incarnation of the Word. Yet she had not as yet sent forth her final religious message. She had still another word to say to men. This time it was a message of another type—vivid, predictive, prophetic. It dealt, not with the eternal but with the temporal order. Heraclitus had no vision of the future. He saw no redemptive movement, no city of God. His *flux* was toward no "far off divine event"; his Logos was not end-seeking. There was no teleology in his evolution. He was pure philosopher and no prophet.

Nor was the great Christian Logos-teacher John concerned with world events and issues so much as with a personal revelation in which redemption came to as many as received it. His vision was penetrative rather than predictive. He looked deep into the heart of things and saw the eternal truth and love incarnated in Jesus Christ, and to him this seemed sufficient. But there was need of something more. For the light still shone in the darkness and the darkness comprehended it not. The Roman Empire went on in its career of pride and corruption, threatening to blast forever everything good and pure, leaving the world a moral and spiritual ruin. The plight of the little company of those who had received the light grew more and more dark and desperate. It looked as if the world were hastening on to moral cataclysm and night.

Then came another voice from Ephesus, weighted with woe and judgment for the oppressor, but full of exultant hope and promise for the Christian cause. Whose voice it was, it is impossible to tell with any certainty. Certainly it was not that of the author of the Fourth Gospel, for nothing could be more unlike his message in tone and in content.

Professor Charles, in his recent authoritative commentary on Revelation, holds the writer to have been one John the Seer, a Jewish Christian of Galilee who had made his home in Ephesus and who wrote his ardent prophecies in the reign either of Vespasian or Domitian (70-96 A. D.) It matters comparatively little. The main thing is the message itself with its invincible assurance of the triumph of righteousness. Yet if, as seems possible, it emanated from Ephesus, it assumes still greater interest and sig-

nificance. For it completed the progressingly developing message of this ancient city to the world.

That which this later Ephesian seer saw was, in effect, the judgment about to befall the forces of evil and the final triumph of righteousness, of moral reason, of that principle that had been inwrought in the creation itself and whose innermost nature had been disclosed in Jesus Christ. Not that he conceived the triumph of right in terms of the Logos. He was not a philosopher, but a prophet. Yet the real purport of his message not only harmonizes with, but supplements, that of his Ephesian predecessors. It was his to say that judgment and destruction would soon overtake evil, that truth and goodness would survive and triumph, that "What began best can't end worst, Nor what God blessed once prove accurst." A Logos-created world may meet disaster, again and again, through free wills given over to a debasing naturalism, but the Logos principle itself will persist and finally triumph.

Thus did Ephesus, the ancient city of Artemis, struggle out of a natural religion into spiritual, out of a partial philosophy into a complete one, out of the encompassing darkness of a world-order corrupt and doomed into the vision of a holy city coming down from God out of heaven, in which the Word, the Right Reason, perceived by Heraclitus and incarnated in Christ would be immortally regnant.

THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY

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IT is suggestive to consider the Passion Play as a deposit of the community mind of Oberammergau. Quickly the visitor senses that an independent version of the story of our Lord is being portrayed. The text of the play is no mere splicing of passages from the Gospels. Faithful to the New Testament, yet, in the spirit of spiritual freedom, it is independent in its interpretation and it clothes its action in its own language. This story of the Passion did not take its rise from any single mind. Though the present text was thoroughly revised in the late fifties of the last century by the village pastor, Josef Daisenberger, during the three hundred years of its history it has been modified by many hands until individual authorship has been lost in the authorship of the community.

Oberammergau is misunderstood when thought of as an isolated mountain village. Its one continuous street is but a section of a military and commercial highway which for hundreds of years has connected Italy and Germany. Situated where this road enters the narrow mountain defiles, the village was a convenient stopping place for travelers. Ambassadors of church and state must often have passed this way. In the inns of the village, merchants must have unfolded to eager townspeople tales of what was stirring in Europe. Here must have been reported the doings of Francis of Assisi in Italy and the commotion that Luther was making in Germany. Here must have been discussed the arrogance of kings, and possibly even of popes. And may there not have been whisperings of the secret ambitions of the people? In few places, perhaps, could one have better laid his finger upon the pulse of Europe. May not all of this have had some effect upon the manner in which Oberammergau conceived its sacred play? Evidence of world vision appears in the language in which the village offers its play to the world. "May it contribute," is its

prayer, "to reconcile every man to his God, to unite all schismatic Christian communities, and to conciliate all hostile nations."

The Passion Play is nontheological; it is nonecclesiastical. It, in deadly earnestness, conceives religion in terms of vital personal relationships. It escapes the barren intellectualism that in so much of German Protestantism came to be substituted for living faith. Though the people of Oberammergau are pious Roman Catholics, their play makes no prostrations before ecclesiastical authority. Christ does not hand over the keys to Peter, for example. In fact one is apt to think he catches some note of wariness of tyranny in this play, such as prompted these same Tyrolese to successfully defy the oppression of Napoleon. Nor is there here any trace of the superstitions of the religion of the common people. There is no extravagance of miracle. Mary lives here simply in her New Testament character as the mother of her Son. The stage scenes call to mind the great conventional masterpieces of religious art. But for this perhaps the villagers should not be blamed. Who has been able to conceive the Last Supper better than DaVinci, or the Descent from the Cross better than Rubens? It is perhaps enough that the players of Oberammergau are not conquered by the conventional, but have subdued it to the service of life.

The play may be understood through a study of its leading characters. There are four of these, Jesus, Mary, his mother, Judas, and Pilate.

Jesus appears at the opening of the play as the climax of the scene representing the Triumphant Entry. Immediately follows the event upon which the action of the play is made to turn. Jesus addresses himself to clearing the profiteers out of the Temple. Here he sees the blind eagerness of the profit motive interfering with the perception and acknowledgment of God as God. Jesus is determined to claim for God his rightful place in the lives of men, whatever the cost.

The traders, once beyond reach of the whip of small cords, are quickly reassembled by the urgency of their common grievance. Is not their business a convenience to the pious and necessary to the Temple worship? Are they not legalized by the High Coun-

cil? They are determined to be avenged upon this destroyer of property, who menaces the peaceful and lawful pursuit of gain.

Likewise the priests and Pharisees gather in excited discussion of the morning outrage. This contempt for their authority is an attack upon Moses and the holy Law. The situation is summarized before the Council by one of its members, who addresses his approving colleagues as follows:

"You have heard, and some have witnessed, how this man usurped the dignity of the High Priests, and had the effrontery to rule as master in the Holy Temple of Jehovah. What is lacking to the overthrow of all our national customs and ecclesiastical rites? One step farther and the holy Law, given by God to Moses, is put aside by the heresy of this deceiver. The statutes of our fathers are despised. The fasts and cleansings are abolished, the Sabbath profaned."

Meanwhile Jesus appears for the last time at Bethany. He is aware that his enemies are consolidating; that the greed, fanaticism, and pride of Jerusalem are conspiring against him under the cloak of respectability, business interest, patriotism, and religion. About him gather the living trophies of his ministry. Lazarus salutes him as "conqueror of death." Mary Magdalene, dug from a yet deeper grave, can utter but the one word "Master" as she falls at his feet. The disciples group about. His mother is there. It seems to be in this scene, rather than in the solitude of Gethsemane, that the Passion Play places the great crisis in the life of Jesus as he faces the Cross. Would these home-loving peasants teach us that it is not what may happen to one's self that makes one hesitate when he faces the stern, uncompromising demands of the moral ideal; but that it is what his family, his friends, his associates, may lose or suffer by his act?

The plain announcement by Jesus that the hour of his death is now at hand, compels Judas, who has for a good while been secretly unsettled, to resolve definitely upon his future course. Jesus is represented in the play as one who puts the spiritual first, suffering material considerations to impose no conditions upon it. Judas stands at precisely the opposite pole from the Master. He is neither, in the first instance, a villain nor a miser. He is

simply a man who takes the material concerns of life too seriously. He has the pride of a practical man amongst visionaries. Doubtless to him has been committed the bag because he is the only capable business man of the company. He must be faithful to his trust, for without his care how will his comrades be saved from starvation? He is all the more conscious of his responsibility because the Master seems so gravely deficient in practical judgment. The talk of Jesus about taking no thought for the morrow Judas simply cannot comprehend. It is well enough to note that flowers are clothed and that birds are fed, but men are neither birds nor flowers. Now that Jesus has announced his death, Judas feels the bonds of discipleship more strained than ever. It appears that Jesus has himself come to realize that his impractical ways must end in disaster, and in the critical hour the Master shows himself confused and incapable of producing any plan. So Judas falls behind the company and thus reasons with himself:

"Shall I follow Him? I have no longing to do so. The bearing of the Master is inexplicable. His great deeds led us to hope that he would reestablish the kingdom of Israel. But it will never be, he does not grasp the opportunity when it is offered him. He speaks continually of parting and death and comforts us with mysterious words of a future which to me is too distant and too dark. I have hoped and waited long. I am weary of hoping and waiting. I see it now, there is nothing in prospect but to live in continual misery and poverty."

To protect the material interests even of the company of Jesus itself, Judas feels forced into personal disloyalty toward his associates and his Master. Discovering too late that those with whom he bargained were determined to carry the matter against Jesus farther than he had ever intended, and awakening to what he had really done, Judas comes to loathe himself. The intolerable burden of his own company forces him to self-destruction. Judas is the incarnation of the spirit which feels that material security is the first essential. This is the conviction of many well-meaning men, of men who even suppose themselves to be religious. The deepset disease of civilization has sprung from the infection of this spirit. There are signs that it has already reached the stage

where society in its madness can conceive of naught but destroying itself.

Could one forget what he has known about Pilate before, doubtless the Pilate of the Passion Play would win our hearts when we see him first. He seems a noble Roman indeed, a rock of defense against which the hatred toward Jesus must break in vain. He has power to discern goodness in the maligned, and to see the beauty of it when it is made to appear unlovely. Likewise he can discover baseness and condemn it. When Caiaphas suavely suggests that Pilate will not think it necessary to review the evidence by which the holy Sanhedrim in its justice has found Jesus worthy of death, he flames that one should presume to use him, Cæsar's representative, as a pliable tool. Pilate replies thoughtfully to the charge that Jesus makes himself the Son of God, "Who knows but what he may be the son of some god?" Pilate denies that Jesus is creating sedition but alleges knowledge of much good that the Master has done. Pilate's personal examination of Jesus but strengthens his determination that merit and innocence shall suffer no harm. But the shrewd leaders of the Jews have reserved one card to play. Finding Pilate obdurate, they determine to engineer a demonstration of public opinion. They dispatch their agents into every corner of the city to intimidate the followers of Jesus, and to incite all the respectable and patriotic against him as a menace to all good. When the throngs gather about the house of Pilate calling for Jesus' death, the insistence of the popular demand seems more than he can face. The din of the moment silences in his ears the voice of Time. He deserts regretfully the altar of his conscience and burns incense before the deities of the multitude.

Mary alone in the play rises into the region of character which is the habitual spiritual abiding place of Jesus. In the hour of his great trial it seems to be from his mother alone that he draws the strength of a comprehending sympathy, as she draws her strength from him. Opposition of their parents is not uncommonly the chief obstacle put in the way of young people who would dedicate themselves to sacrificial service. Jesus, as the people of Oberammergau see it in their play, met no such attitude in his

mother. Convinced that her Son must suffer cruelly and die, she declares:

"I am the handmaid of the Lord. What he requires of me that will I bear with patience. But one thing, my Son, one thing I beg of thee; . . . that I may go with thee into the fierce struggle of suffering, that I may go even to death with thee."

Her prayer was more than answered, for to see one's child hurt and put to death is more than to die.

In the Passion Play we seem to reach such an interpretation of the religion of Jesus as we find in a man like Saint Francis of Assisi. Christianity is presented as a life of supreme loyalty to God as he speaks through Christ to the reason and the conscience. To this touchstone each character is brought. Jesus, the hero of the play, obeys the inner voice unmoved by the opposition of business, church or government assuming their most authoritative tones. No, not even the sweet allurements of friendship can deter him. He dies, but lives. With him is his mother. Mary rises not in her own strength to this great height, but through her Son. In this she is the typical Christian, for it may be questioned whether any are able to live this life who do not confess that "the life I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Judas was so confused by his illusion that material interests must be made secure first that the voice of Jesus seemed unreal and incomprehensible to him. Pilate was one who meant to be true to the best in his own soul, but who had no defense against the force of the mobilized power of what other people are supposed to think and demand. Had he fallen at the feet of Jesus it would have saved him from falling at the feet of the crowd.

SOME SATISFACTIONS OF HARD WORK AND SMALL PAY

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WHEN a certain John, called the Baptist, left his home and went out into the wilderness to live on a diet of locusts and wild honey while he called upon people to love and practice righteousness, he did not bemoan the lack of large pay and the luxuries of his fellow men. When one Paul the Apostle forsook the companionship of the learned and powerful of his nation, and made himself despised and hated and a victim of mobs and prisons as he worked for an unpopular cause, he found in his hardships and the resultant accomplishments his satisfaction in life. When Francis of Assisi went out from the wealth of his father's home and wedded himself to the Lady Poverty, and took up the life of simple brotherliness with all living things and the task of spiritualizing men's thoughts, he was not in quest of what is called a career. When Elder Brewster led the tiny Pilgrim band to a savage coast in winter hardness, he was not looking for an easy life and a guaranteed income. When John Wesley traveled the length and breadth of England for nearly fifty years, five thousand miles a year chiefly on horseback, preaching with fearless constancy to mobs that again and again attacked him with stones and sticks, and gave away every year all but a few pounds of whatever money came to him, he was not coveting a parish that would listen with fat ears to safe platitudes.

These men, and such as they, moved the world.

These men, and other such not known to fame, but lowly men in quiet obscurity, did not enter the service of the church as a career or a gainful profession, but found in it a calling—a calling to a life of loving self-forgetfulness for the sake of their fellow men and the kingdom of God.

There is as yet no Protective Association of the Amalgamated Clergymen of the United States of America, with strikes for higher

wages, and boycotts of communities that refuse to pay the union price, but one wonders sometimes how long it may be before Community A will be obliged to send to Community X for some one to conduct a funeral service because its own ministers have declared a strike.

There is an ancient principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire. And it would indeed be very pleasant if the people making up the churches would be always liberal in the treatment of their ministers. It would be very pleasant, and would make the life of the ministry much easier, if the churches would provide a generous living for all the pastors of the home parishes, and adequate funds to care for those who do the pioneering work in far fields. But those who have called young men and women into the ministry most winsomely and most commandingly have never made the appeal of an easy or lucrative occupation. They have sounded the note of chivalry, and rung out the call to service.

If "worthy young men" are refusing to enter the ministry at the present time, because the financial rewards are so much more enticing in other walks of life, the question may be raised as to whether they really were worthy of the ministry—of the ministry that ought to be. How long is it since saviors have had to be purchased with the lure of gold and soft living? Must even the ministry of comfort and hope and salvation to distressed people through the preaching of the good news of One who, though he was rich, yet for man's sake became poor, that man, through his poverty, might be made rich, now bow the knee in slavery to the graven image of Mammon? If churches pursue a niggardly policy, it may be a sign that the leading spirits in those churches, and their unthinking sheeplike followers also, are in desperate need of being converted by apostles who are willing to bear the hardships of undertaking such conversion. It is true that some folk in the churches have yet to learn that sainthood consists not in littleness but in bigness, not in narrowness but in breadth; and this makes the call for a disinterested ministry so much the more commanding.

There will have to be a new Reformation if material rewards come to bulk larger than Opportunity and the call of Need, in the

eyes of those who enter the service of the church. If a minister says—in print—that he will do all in his power to prevent his son from adopting the same calling, because the boy will be obliged to contend with "reactionary stand-patism" to which "an open mind and a passionate loyalty to truth are neither personal assets nor community desires," some one may want to ask that pastoral parent what are the reasons why a ministry of spiritual enlightenment and enlargement is needed in the world at all. It was declared, by One who is accounted to have known something about the ministry of reconciliation, that he came not to the well but to the sick, not to call the righteous but sinners. Perhaps it is just because there are so many "men and women untouched by the modern spirit," that there is need of those who will strive to be openers of the eyes of the blind. Instead of feeling themselves "intellectually fettered" by narrow-minded and intolerant parishes, perhaps ministers should feel themselves intellectually commissioned, and sent forth to let minds out of prison. When Stanley said of Glave, the missionary, that he was "one of the men who relish a task for its bigness, and greet hard labor with a fierce joy," he not only paid an illustrious tribute to that man but he put into glowing words the spirit that ought to belong to others who would undertake the work of Christ. Obstacles are not pleasant; but obstacles are a challenge, and opposition makes opportunity. The struggle of an open mind with a closed mind, and of a good spirit with a bad spirit, is the greatest struggle in the world, except the struggle a man has with the devils hidden under his own waistcoat.

It is true that the man whose impelling desire is to let light into closed minds, and to give heaven-aspiring wings to spirits that have loved to be earth-bound, finds himself hindered by obstacles; but so do explorer and chemist and statesman, and other men who aspire to great achievement. If, then, he some day beholds purse strings untied that have long been double-knotted, he knows that he has helped one soul at least into larger and lovelier and more satisfying life. If, going out into the wallow of materialism, he succeeds in persuading some eye to turn in lasting sincerity upward toward God and inward toward the eternities of the

soul, he knows that he has had a part in the making of the better world that ought to be. When an ardent young spirit says to him, "If ever I become worth my own respect and that of others, it will be due more to you than to any other one outside of my parents," he is made aware that to him, also, has been given the privilege of being a Prometheus, a fire-bringer. When minds darkened by prejudice and bigotry and egotism find through his help the sun of a new vision of life rising within them, he knows himself a sharer in the everlasting work of Him who at the first said, "Let there be light." If the slums move up into a beloved parish, and mansions are changed into tenements over night as if a new and sinister Aladdin had rubbed his lamp, while publicans and sinners and sick and impoverished and the unenlightened take the place of the cultured minds and spiritual personalities that once nestled about the heaven-pointing spire of the church, it means that the need for the minister is become only the more desperate. In such a place Temptation and Struggle and Sin and Sorrow and the abysmal Needs of the Soul are not made to seem small things; they meet a man stark at every turn. When he goes about all the alleys and all the courts, finding all manner of trouble and all manner of sickness and all manner of sin, helping the deserted mother with the rent, securing skilled treatment for the crippled child, visiting the prisoner in his dungeon, teaching in the meeting places and telling everywhere the great message of the Kingdom, he follows in the steps of One who has been the ideal of the ages because he loved the sinners and the sick and the suffering. When he looks down upon his congregation and sees English, Scotch, Irish, Provincial, Swiss, Norwegian, Swedish, German, Austrian, Polish, Armenian, and what not, gathered together in happy acknowledgment of the fact that God made of one blood all nations of men, then he knows that his also is a ministry of reconciliation among men. And when he beholds men turn from the service of evil to the service of good, he knows that to him, too, is intrusted the greatest of all ministries—the ministry of reconciliation of earth with heaven.

It were well to speak not always of a minister's hardships, but sometimes of his satisfactions and rewards; and such things as

these are among them. And there are others. To see college teachers and medical specialists and preachers and missionaries and social workers and honorable and great-hearted business men rise out of homes of poverty and dirt and crime, to see such homes transformed as a butterfly comes from a grub, to behold happiness come to souls whose reaching out in their hour of need was at the time a cause of painful self-denial, to look upon the results accomplished in the course of years—the long, long years troubled by the trivialities of the saints and the importunity of petty details—to know that one has been able to help some few to hear the call of humanity louder than the call of self, to know that one has been to certain minds an interpreter of life's meaning, to know that one has been able to help souls that were well-nigh caught in the mesh of sordidness to some worshipful apprehension of the Unseen and the Eternal, to be made aware that one has aided some troubled spirits to find adjustment to the universe—such things come as quiet rewards of sacrifice and toil. They may seem few as they come, but in the course of the years they can be counted. The right appraisal of values is an art the minister has need of learning.

One hardship the minister does have to endure. Too, too often must he know the pain of consigning to the wastebasket appeals heavy with human heartaches. Schools for Negroes and for Indians, Settlements in slums and in mountain fastnesses, missions that girdle the globe, homes for discharged prisoners, societies to teach ignorant mothers how to keep their babes from sickness, societies to save those same babes from innumerable woes when they are older, societies to fight insidious diseases, civic leagues, antituberculosis organizations, associations to assist the pitiful blind to self-support, movements to send bread to starving children overseas (so many of these in recent times!)—multifariously and multitudinously the appeals roll in. Men take it for granted that the minister is interested in enterprises to help suffering humanity, and that it is his desire to aid in their work if he can. And is there not satisfaction in this? Even if one is often unable to give the help he longs to, is there not joy in being made aware how diversified and how generous are the efforts of

men to make life easier for others, and the world happier? I pause not to speak of unwise philanthropies that ought to be opposed and hindered. I say merely that to have even a letter-of-appeal acquaintance with the multitude of good works that really are good works is a recurrent stimulus to a wholesome optimism.

The minister learns of more gracious acts, is familiar with more efforts to make the world a good place, and comes in contact with more of the best people in the world, than almost any other man in his community. He has an opportunity far greater than most of his fellows to live day by day with the best books and the best men, to dwell constantly with the noblest thoughts and in the higher realms of the soul. He is working, moreover, with what is absolutely fundamental in all efforts to build a better world; he is working to make men over. Painfully conscious of his limitations—his limitations in physical endurance, in intellectual value, in spiritual adequacy—he knows nevertheless that he is working for earth and heaven in basic ways. He is working to make men realize that life includes a Beyond as well as a Present, that they are Spirits and not mere Bodies, and that be they never so lowly they are not ciphers in the world's progress but are powers for evil or for good.

There are slackers in every kind of employment, and even a time-clock cannot guarantee that the workman will keep faith with his job. But it may be divined by some that the kind of life that has been suggested is not an easy one for the minister who takes his task seriously. Here is no eight-hour day. The work requires just as many hours as the minister has strength for. "You will need," said an older minister to a young man at his service of installation (I give the gist of the words), "You will need all the hours of the day for preparing your sermons and attending your various services and conducting your church business, you will need all the hours of the day for hard study and reading in order to keep intellectually fit, and you will need all the hours of the day for going out into your parish and seeing your people and attending to their needs." The young minister soon understood the truth of the words. If he spent an afternoon making calls, he was all the time conscious of the unread books and the unfinished tasks in

his study; if he spent successive days in his study, far too little with books, and very much with tasks of mere business management, his spirit was troubled by the consciousness of the sick and the sinful, the aged and those wrestling with the problems of busy life, the discontented and the eager helpful, the tenements and the richer homes, the hospitals and the jails that were waiting for the sight of his face and a few words with him; and always, days and nights, were the demands of the incessant meetings. When he went to bed late at night, his desk was never clear; when he began work in the morning, yesterday's unfinished tasks confronted him before he could start upon to-day's.

In the minister who would have power, the flaming heart must burn up much of the self. You remember how Frederick Myers interprets that flaming heart of Saint Paul:

> Only like souls I see the folk thereunder,
> Bound who should conquer, slaves who should be kings;
> Hearing their one hope with an empty wonder,
> Sadly contented with a show of things:—
>
> Then with a rush the intolerable craving
> Shivers throughout me like a trumpet call;
> Oh to save these! to perish for their saving,
> Die for their life, be offered for them all!

All men are perhaps not capable of that. But must such words be revised for the benefit of the modern apostle—

> Oh to save these! to have bank checks for their saving,
> Have motors though they die, be made richer by them all?

Perhaps a new kind of ministry is called for—or, rather, a return to an old order. Perhaps the day is at hand when the Protestant churches must send forth a ministry wedded only to the Lady Poverty, in order that the preaching of repentance and forgiveness and love be not hampered by material demands and needs. The world is still in need of saving, and if sacrifice is even now the cost of salvation, sacrifice will be forthcoming. There will yet be men drawn by the call of the heroic.

[And laymen need this lesson even more than ministers.—Editor]

WHY MUST THE CHURCH REPEL EVERY THREATENING WAR-MENACE?

EDUARD KÖNIG
Bonn, Germany

IN that highly respected newspaper The British Weekly, issue of September 7, 1922, Dr. J. H. Jowett voiced a spirited summons to all Christendom to engage at once in stirring activity in political relations. This summons is most timely, since in the very present instant when we have scarcely begun to carry on the work of peace, dark clouds are arising on the horizon of politics and threaten a new storm of frightful force.

Doctor Jowett takes as his point of departure a sentence from an interview with Mr. Lloyd George, after the Conference at Genoa: "We have not had the requisite religious backing, and it is the business of the church to supply this." [1] With this agrees what was said by the Japanese premier (who is not a Christian) after a review of the conclusions of that Conference: "We must now turn our eyes to leaders of the religious world." In view of these avowals of leading statesmen Doctor Jowett asks: "What is the reply of the religious leaders to the premiers of Great Britain and Japan?"

The beginning of the answer given by the author of that summons is as follows: "The statesmen have not had the good fortune to bring about a righteous peace." Who can deny that in this Doctor Jowett speaks truth? To this correct perception of past political movements he adds words that express the one lofty insight in relation to the social ideal of the future. He then proceeds (to add only one sentence from his staggering exposition): "It is not sufficient for the peoples that their statesmen kiss one another—no, a kiss should be a sacred thing. The sphere of sentiment must be shot through with honesty. Love must derive its life force from sanctity." Then he asks whether now the Church of Christ will not bring that to pass which according

[1] This sentence is retranslated from Doctor König's German, and may not tally exactly with the British premier's expression—which is not in the editor's hands.

to the declaration of the two premiers has hitherto been lacking, so as to have the Congresses of the States arrive at fruitful results. Instead of adducing farther the words of Doctor Jowett, I will attempt to set forth briefly my own conclusions and thus to supplement the article of the English scholar.

I. The Church of Christ has the possibility of using influence in the suggested direction.

The question whether the church is in a position to act influentially on politics is not raised by Doctor Jowett. Yet that fact must be firmly established, and the more imperatively because the church is, unfortunately, so dismembered.

Yet it possesses at least the organic unity which is involved in the members of a human body. It possesses the solidarity of interests which the apostle comprehended in the words, "And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it" (1 Cor. 12. 26). It has, further, the spiritual unity that results from the possession of a common head—since all parts confess "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and forever" (Heb. 13. 8). By virtue of this internal unity the varied denominations do not lack the organs for achieving common counsel. It seems to me, venturing to count up little and big, that first in recent times, to-day even, is it the common interest of all parts of Christianity to come to the defense of the Bible. For just as when the authority of the Old Testament is assailed, as in the pamphlet published by Friedrich Delitzsch in 1920-21 under the title *Die grosse Täuschung* ("The Great Deception," or "Illusion"), the call is made equally upon Protestants and Roman Catholics for critical illumination, so when other dangers threaten, the churches have the means to make their opposition clear and to further the common defense. The calls to such action can be made in part through the great journals that are read in every part of Christendom, and partly through the private letters of scholars to personal friends or acquaintances.

From another point of view to the church comes the possibility of connecting the movements of politics with the securing of peace. To be sure, in our day state and church govern in quite different regions; yet they are not altogether discrete, and

in any case they have common interests. Nowhere, as a matter of fact, are they entirely separate. In the United States the principle of separation between church and state is distinctively operative, nevertheless the state opens the sessions of Congress with prayer, protects the quiet of Sunday, and appoints chaplains for the military and naval forces. Outside of this, the state cannot get along without the church if it is to discharge to the full its own task. Moreover, if in our time the state is correctly defined as the organization of right (or justice), right and ethics hang together, and ethics has its life-giving roots in religion. To this fact no less a philosopher than Immanuel Kant gave his testimony when he declared that "Ethics leads in a straight course to religion, by which it exalts itself to the conception of a powerful moral giver of law."

II. To the church falls the task positively and negatively to work for the peaceful shaping of politics.

Negatively, the thought of the church respecting its task should result in the turning into peaceful directions of the many-sided relations of the peoples. For it is an undeniable fact that through the war the passions of men were inflamed and the gentler emotions cooled. As a consequence those who took part in the war were easily led—without especial purpose or design—to disregard the commands of humanity even beyond the measurs that is demanded by attack and defense. It is therefore an unavoidable consequence of war that civilization is dragged from its height. How can the church, in that case, escape injury? Or is it not the protector of the finest ideals of morality? Should it not bring about, for instance, regard for chastity which during war is so greatly endangered? If the church is to view with unconcern that many-sided jealousy among peoples which must inevitably, sooner or later, lead to new wars, then let it silently dig up the ground upon which it has to build its own work.

With still greater clarity may it be shown on positive grounds that on Christianity lies the obligation to labor for the limiting of war. Let me adduce the two following considerations.

1. The principle of the unity of the human race is already set forth earlier and in more expressive fashion in the Old Testa-

ment than in any other literature of antiquity, not excepting that of Greece. The Hebrew writings emphasize the unity of the origin and destiny of all men in what are recognized as the earliest parts of the Pentateuch—for example, in that it is said that through Abraham all families of the earth are to be blessed. Among Greeks, on the other hand, this unity was first significantly expressed in the book named Concerning the World ascribed to Aristotle. As this fundamental view is stated in the very first pages of the Bible, so it is maintained throughout to the final pages. Therefore this lofty principle should ever be proclaimed anew by the church in trumpet tones until it is everywhere heard and acknowledged. But there has never been a time when this has been so greatly needed as it is in our own day.

2. On the church falls the duty of considering as the most sublime theme of its preaching the "new commandment" of reciprocal love given by the Master to his disciples according to John 13. 34. And he continued immediately: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." The church must also validate brotherly love as the distinguishing mark of the citizens of Christ's kingdom. The Johannine spirit, which can hardly emphasize the love of Christ and the mutual love of Christians, must in the church finally gain the victory. This spirit will infuse into the church the same dynamic as wells up in every society from the source of inner harmony.

If in men's minds these two principles become fixed, there will be no room to doubt that the church has the tasks of protecting biblical verities and of seeking to counteract the tendency to separation among the races of mankind. Through emphasis upon race and nationality there is threatened in our day an unholy chasm between sections of humanity. The church must grip these two principles, and must strive to answer the question whether the present basis of peace among the states and the program for future politics correspond to both directions as given in the Bible.

I would myself, with flaming heart, repeat the proposal of Doctor Jowett: "May the church awake from its slumber and perform its proven duty. May it finally inaugurate its Johannine age! And may it do this before it is too late."

THE LINCOLN TRILOGY OF LITERATURE

WILLIAM L. STIDGER
Detroit, Mich.

"WHICH is the strongest poem of all the thousands that have been written on Lincoln?" I heard a great Lincoln lover ask Mr. Fay, the keeper of the Lincoln Memorial Tomb at Springfield, this summer when I was going over what I call "The Lincoln Trail" through Springfield.

The visitor named several great poems.

"No!" said the little man with a twinkle in his eyes.

"What is then the strongest and shortest poem that fully expresses the life of Lincoln?" queried the visitor, who had boasted just a few minutes before that he knew all of the literature on Lincoln.

"It was written by Joaquin Miller a few years before his death at my request and I have it here in Miller's own handwriting."

The little old man reached into a sacred treasure vault and pulled out his Miller file, and sure enough there was a startlingly strong, unique and amazingly short poetical summary of the great characteristics of Lincoln. So far as I know this poem on Lincoln has never been published before in a magazine:

LINCOLN

BY JOAQUIN MILLER

The strength of Hercules;
The sense of Socrates!

"Lincoln somehow seems a part of all great literature!" said the keeper of this sacred shrine.

"In what way do you mean? Do you mean that he steeped himself in great literature?"

"Yes, but I mean something more than that."

"And what may that something more be?"

"I mean that he wrote great literature."

"You are right! And I'll add another thought and that will complete the Lincoln Trilogy of Literature."

"Add it!" said this little thin-faced Oliver Wendell Holmes fellow with a kindly smile. We had come to be chums in three minutes, although total strangers before, through our common love of Lincoln and our common love of literature. What more natural than that we two, with these kindred hobbies, should be linking them together and talking about Lincoln and Literature?

"I'll add the third division of the Lincoln Trilogy of Literature. It is the great mass of literature which has been written *about* him and inspired by his life."

"That's a great Trilogy!" added my friend, "the Trilogy of the Literature in which he steeped his life and thinking; the literature that he wrote himself; and the literature that has been written about him since his death."

And so it is that I make bold to add to the innumerable Lincoln articles this one on "The Lincoln Trilogy of Literature."

The Literature Lincoln Lived

Books made up Lincoln's High School and College, as every American schoolboy knows. I'll wager that one could find few boys and girls in our American schools who could not name offhand the books in which Lincoln lived as a boy; and few there are who do not know the romantic story of Lincoln's eagerness to get an education through reading great and good books.

In recent years we have heard constantly of Dr. Eliot's "Shelf of Books" put in a dozen different variations. We have heard of that "Shelf" of books which Roosevelt always carried with him even on his hunting trips into darkest Africa and South America; the classics that he always wanted with him. We have heard of various selections of a short shelf of books that were guaranteed to educate any man who would read them. But neither Dr. Eliot nor Roosevelt was the originator of the "Short Shelf of Books." That was done by Abraham Lincoln more than three quarters of a century ago and done through a great necessity.

Ida M. Tarbell says of this shelf of Lincoln books: "His stock of books was small, but he knew them thoroughly, and they

were good books to know: the Bible, *Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe,* Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* a *History of the United States,* Weems' *Life of Washington.*"

Miss Tarbell gives in a footnote a fascinating and thrilling sidelight on Lincoln's character and at the same time a delightful sidelight on his experience with books:

> The first authorized sketch of Lincoln's life was written by the late John L. Scripps, of the Chicago Tribune, who went to Springfield at Mr. Lincoln's request, and by him was furnished the data for a campaign biography. In a letter written to Mr. Herndon after the death of Lincoln, which Mr. Herndon turned over to me, Scripps relates, that in writing his book he states that Mr. Lincoln as a youth read Plutarch's Lives. This he did, simply because, as a rule, every boy in the West in the early days did read Plutarch. When the advance sheets of the book reached Mr. Lincoln, he sent for the author and said gravely: "That paragraph wherein you state that I read Plutarch's Lives was not true when you wrote it, for up to that moment in my life I had never seen that early contribution to human history; but I want your book, even if it is nothing but a campaign sketch, to be faithful to the facts; and in order that the statement might be literally true I secured the book a few weeks ago, and have sent for you to tell you that I have just read it through."

The story that used to thrill us in our boyhood days was the story of how Lincoln used to walk for several miles to borrow books from a friend's library and then, after he had read them, how he would walk back through the heat of summer and the cold of winter, to return these precious possessions. Those who knew him tell the story of how when he plowed corn in the field he always had one of these borrowed books with him and at the end of each row he would stop and read while the horses rested.

Miss Tarbell tells of how one day Captain John Lamar, one of the few people left in Gentryville who remembered Lincoln, was walking along the road and saw a boy sitting on the old-fashioned rail fence reading a book. His father remarked to him: "John, look at that boy yonder, and mark my words, he will make a smart man out of himself. I may not see it, but you'll see if my words don't come true!" That boy who sat on the rail fence was Lincoln.

Judge John Pitcher of Rockport, Indiana, gave Lincoln free access to his great library after he was eighteen years of age. One

writer tells of how Lincoln "Walked twenty miles from New Salem to Springfield to borrow law books from John T. Stuart."

The pictures of Lincoln that are burned with great vividness into our American minds are the pictures of Lincoln lying on his stomach in front of a great open fireplace reading. Another picture that history records for us is that of Lincoln lying under a great tree following the shade around the tree reading a book all day long.

Lincoln's early books were few, but, as Miss Tarbell says, they were great books. His speeches, his letters, and his conversation throughout his lifetime were flowers blossoming out of the rich soil of the Bible and these few great books in which he lived as a boy. His figures of speech, his simplicity of expression, his dignity of language, his loftiness of symbol are all due to his having saturated himself with the language of the Bible. The literature of the Bible was Lincoln's everyday speech!

The Literature Written About Lincoln

Each year produces its mountain-high pile of Lincoln literature; some of it new and brilliant; some of it not so new and not so worth while. But all of it somehow finds a reading public.

This great production of Lincoln literature is not confined to America either, as is illustrated by the fact that one of the most authentic lives of Lincoln that has ever been written was written by Lord Charnwood; and that recently the only great drama interpreting the life of Lincoln has been written by an English playwright, John Drinkwater.

In a most beautiful and universal fashion indeed, is the greatness of Lincoln permeating the heart of the whole wide world. I have just returned from a trip around the world, traveling 55,000 miles in a year's time. When I was in Korea the great Independence movement was at its glorious height. I talked with young Koreans of the educated class and there was scarcely a conversation that I did not discover that the "Great Heart" whom they were following, the ideal that they were enshrining in their dreams, was that of our own martyred Lincoln. I found this same thing true in the great student movement in China, one of

the most powerful social and political movements in the world to-day. These young Chinese students know the history and life of Lincoln as few American boys know it, and Lincoln is the man they quote constantly in their fiery speeches on street corners. I found this same thing true in the Philippine Islands, where the young students place Lincoln even above their national idol, Jose Rizal. Russia has enshrined Lincoln in its great groping soul. It is significant that during the past year in two great English cities two great bronze statues of Lincoln have been unveiled; the St. Gaudens statue in London, and the Barnard statue in Manchester. The whole wide world is accepting the tradition of Lincoln's greatness and the whole wide world is enshrining Lincoln in its heart of hearts.

Naturally this is finding expression in the literature that is being written about Lincoln everywhere, the outstanding illustration being the Drinkwater drama and the Charwood *Life of Lincoln.* In America every year sees the publication of a new Lincoln literature. In the world of verse and poetry alone the amount of literature written about Lincoln is appalling. Hundreds of books of Lincoln poetry have been issued by publishing houses, and every February sees both the great and the humble poets of America trying to express some phase of his character in verse.

Mr. Oldroyd, owner of the house in which Lincoln died in Washington, D. C., some years ago issued what he called *The Poet's Lincoln.* In selecting one hundred poems for this book he selected from one thousand poems. This is an illustration of the almost numberless poems that have been written about Lincoln.

The Book of Lincoln, written or compiled by Mary Wright Davis, is one of the most useful of the hundreds of books published on Lincoln. Most of it is made up of the division called "Lincoln in Verse"; it is a marvelous thing that an entire life history of a great man can be traced out accurately in the poems that have been written about him. The chapter headings of this book are: "The Source of Lincoln," "The Mother of Lincoln," "To President Lincoln," "The First American," "Gettysburg Ode," "Lincoln Mourned," "Lincoln's Grave," "Lincoln Memorial," "The Living Lincoln," "Lincoln's Centenary and other Birthdays," "Washing-

ton and Lincoln," and "Miscellanies." When one stops to think that in this book Lincoln's entire life can be traced in truly great poems written about him, it is a startling thought. No character in all the world's history has had his life so completely interpreted by so many varied authors, all in verse.

The great poems on Lincoln have been written by Edwin Markham, Walt Whitman, Vachel Lindsay, Joaquin Miller, and others. The great lines that stand out are: Markham's "And leaves a lonesome place against the sky," Whitman's "Captain! Oh my Captain!" Vachel Lindsay's "Would I might rouse the Lincoln in you all!"

The Library of Congress contains over fifteen hundred books written on Lincoln, and this list is increasing every year. These books have been written in nearly every language on the face of the earth.

America has produced several great histories of Lincoln's Life, among the most useful being the Nicolay and Hay books, from the group of earlier writers, and the Ida M. Tarbell two-volume history of the later writers.

Several edited books on Lincoln's yarns and stories have been issued, one of these being McClure's and another good one being *Lincoln's Own Stories* by Anthony Gross.

Books on Lincoln's Religion, his viewpoint on Prohibition and a score of great problems have been issued. Last year The Abingdon Press issued a book on *Lincoln and Prohibition*. This same press a few years ago published a book of Lincoln Memorial Addresses called *Our Martyr President* and also *Abraham Lincoln the Christian*, the author of which is William J. Johnson, as well as a book on *Lincoln's Gettysburg Address* written by Orton H. Carmichael, which is an attempt to set this great address in its proper perspective and give all of the facts incident thereto for posterity. Even so slight a contact with Lincoln as a youth being kissed is cause for writing a book, as the editors of The Abingdon Press thought when they gave us a book entitled *When Lincoln Kissed Me*.

Dr. Barton's book on *The Paternity of Lincoln* is one of the recent useful books which clears up forever an uncertain tradition

that surrounded the President. Dr. Barton has written another great Lincoln book, *The Soul of Lincoln.*

Literally hundreds of small books of the gift type have been published and hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of copies have been sold. Among these are such books as *The Perfect Tribute* by Mary Shipman Andrews. This book has been the most popular of the pocket-sized books about Lincoln. *The Counsel Assigned* is another of this same writer's booklets on Lincoln. *The Toy Shop,* by Margaret Spalding Gerry, has had many editions. *Father Abraham, He Knew Lincoln,* and a half dozen small gift books about Lincoln, by such writers as Ida M. Tarbell and Eleanor Atkinson, *Lincoln's Love Story, Benefits Forgot,* by Honoré Willsie, *The Bust of Lincoln,* by James Francis Dwyer, and hundreds of others illustrate the prolific production of this type of literature *about* Lincoln.

In addition to the poems, hymns, and songs, the gift books and the more serious discussions of his Religion, his views on Prohibition and stories about him either imaginative or fictitious, there have been several wonderful novels written surrounding his fascinating life, the most recent and most interesting of them all being Irving Bachelle's *The Man of the Ages.*

This might be continued almost indefinitely, but I have given illustrations of the outstanding types of Literature *about* Lincoln.

The Literature He Wrote Himself

Lincoln was unconsciously a poet. I mean by that that he was so saturated with the Bible that he talked in the language of Psalms, and more or less in the form of the poetry of Psalms. An illustration of this startling fact is afforded by taking his beautiful prose speeches and putting them into the following form. It will be noticed that even an unconscious effect of rhyme is illustrated in the two middle lines of this quatrain taken from the Gettysburg address:

> But in a larger sense
> We cannot *dedicate*
> We cannot *consecrate,*
> We cannot hallow this ground.

The speech itself opens with poetry in that marvelous line "Fourscore and seven years ago." There is a poetic sweep, rhythm, and flow to that opening line which swings like mighty music. It deserves to rank beside that beautiful line of prose-poetry, "And after they had sung an hymn they went down into the Mount of Olives."

A sense of rhyme and rhythm is echoing in the following four lines from the Second Inaugural:

Fondly do we hope,
Fervently do we *pray*
That this mighty scourge of war
May speedily pass *away!*

And what beautiful blank verse there is here:

With malice toward none,
With charity for all;
With firmness in the right
As God gives us to see the right
Let us strive on to finish
The work which we are in;
To bind up the nation's wounds;
To care for him who shall have borne
The brunt of the battle;
And for his widow and his orphans,
To do all that may achieve and cherish
A just and lasting peace
Among ourselves
And with all nations.

That ever buoyant and bubbling humor, which all through his life like a perpetual saving spring of grace swept through the sad years of his existence, is illustrated in the following verse which was found in his schoolboy notebook according to Miss Tarbell:

Abraham Lincoln,
His hand and pen
He will be good,
But God knows when.

In a friend's notebook he wrote:

Good boys who to their books apply
Will all be great men by and by.

I find two or three avowedly and deliberately metrical pieces written by Lincoln. Here is one on a "Maniac":

But here's an object more of dread
Than aught the grave contains—
A human form with reason fled
While wretched life remains.

When terror spread and neighbors ran
Your dangerous strength to bind,
And soon a howling, crazy man,
Your limbs were fast confined;

How then you strove and shrieked aloud,
Your bones and sinews bared;
And fiendish on the gazing crowd
With burning eyeballs glared.

And when at night the drear and long
Time soothed thy fiercer woes,
How plaintively thy mournful song
Upon the still night rose!

I've heard it oft as if I dreamed,
Far distant, sweet and lone,
The funeral dirge it ever seemed
Of reason, dead and gone!

Consciously and unconsciously Lincoln was a poet. He not only deliberately wrote verse in rhythm and rhyme, but he wrote it even more beautifully in his unconscious moments when in his letters and his speeches he rose to the sublime. If the editor finds room for it in this article, I have, taking the suggestion of another writer, Marion Mills Miller, in *The Poet's Lincoln,* arranged the speech at Gettysburg in verse form. The reader will notice how almost biblical it sounds in its simplicity, brevity, and beauty of expression:

Fourscore and seven years ago
Our fathers brought forth
Upon this continent
A new nation,
Conceived in liberty,
And dedicated to the proposition
That all men are created equal.

Following this sweeping and beautiful introduction comes

the body of that wonderful speech, each line of which can be arranged into beautiful blank verse, but the conclusion is the part that mounts to the highest heights of verse:

That from these honored dead
We take increased devotion to that cause
For which they gave
The last full measure of devotion;
That we here highly resolve
That these dead shall not have died in vain;
That this nation, under God,
Shall have a new birth of freedom;
And that government of the people,
By the people, and for the people
Shall not perish from the earth!

In Osborn H. Oldroyd's recently published book *The Poets' Lincoln,* will be found a letter from Mr. Lincoln to William Johnson, his friend, in which he writes as follows concerning the verses printed below: "The piece of poetry of my own which I alluded to I was led to write under the following circumstances. In the fall of 1844, thinking I might aid some to carry the State of Indiana for Mr. Clay, I went into the neighborhood in that State in which I was raised, where my mother and only sister were buried, and from which I had been absent about fifteen years. That part of the country is within itself as unpoetical as any spot of the earth, but still seeing it and its objects and inhabitants aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question."

My childhood's home I see again,
And sadden with the view;
And still, as memory crowds my brain,
There's pleasure in it too.

O Memory! thou midway world
'Twixt earth and paradise,
Where things decayed and loved ones lost
In dreary shadows rise.

And freed from all that's earthly vile,
Seem hallowed, pure and bright,
Like scenes in some enchanted isle
All bathed in liquid light.

As dusky mountains please the eye
When twilight chases day;
As bugle notes, that, passing by,
In distance die away;

As, leaving some grand waterfall,
We, lingering, list its roar—
So memory will hallow all
We've known but know no more.

Near twenty years have passed away
Since here I bid farewell
To woods, and fields, and scenes of play,
And playmates loved so well.

Where many were, but few remain
Of old familiar things;
But seeing them to mind again
The lost and absent brings.

I hear the loved survivors tell
How nought from death could save,
Till every sound appears a knell,
And every spot a grave.

I range the fields with pensive tread,
And pace the hollow rooms,
And feel companion of the dead—
I'm living in the tombs.

Letter writing has formed a certain definite part of all literature, the outstanding illustrations being Paul's Epistles in the New Testament. In every life of any great man, such as have been so frequently published, his letters form a very real part of the interpretation of that man's life. But as a piece of real literature in letter writing; as an illustration of the great classic of letter writing, since Paul's epistles I doubt if literature contains a greater illustration than the Bixby letter. It is truly great literature:

DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly

Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altars of freedom.

His speeches stand, as do his letters, as great monuments of universal literature. The Gettysburg address, from which I have quoted in this article, shall go down in the history of literature to stand side by side with the great classic examples of literature in this field.

And so it has been that Lincoln not only lived great literature, had great literature written about him, but he wrote great literature himself.

And I close as I began by quoting the greatest and strongest and shortest poem that was ever written on Lincoln; a hitherto unpublished contribution to Lincoln Literature which I make through the courtesy of the keeper of the Lincoln Memorial in Springfield, Mr. H. W. Fay, that short and yet pregnant poem by Joaquin Miller:

LINCOLN

The strength of Hercules;
The sense of Socrates!

THE PROBLEM OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST

EDWIN LEWIS
Madison, N. J.

JESUS CHRIST was a particular Man who lived at a particular time and place in the world's history. He was born in the same way as any other human being must be born. He was as dependent on others as any other child must be. All that necessity of learning which belongs to human life and experience belonged to him. His body was in no discernible sense different from other bodies, and his mind functioned according to the same principles which control the functioning of all other minds. He went to school; he learned a trade; he lived in the fellowship of home and friends; he was a member of a "church"; and he recognized and discharged the obligations of citizenship. He knew what it was to hunger and thirst, to weep and to rejoice. He knew that utter physical exhaustion which comes from long-continued toil. The hatred of enemies and the love of friends alike entered into his lot. He knew the meaning of disappointment, misunderstanding and calumny. And that which is at once the pathos and the glory of human life, uncertainty as to the exact form under which to express devotion to the will of God, he felt on occasion up to almost the very last moment of his life. It cannot be said too often or with too great emphasis: Jesus Christ so exhibited the characteristic qualities of manhood that it seems never to have occurred to anyone who knew him to doubt that his manhood was real. No theory of his person can therefore be tolerated which is in anywise incompatible with the frankest recognition of his complete humanness.

This raises, of course, the delicate and difficult question of the story of his birth. Whatever one thinks of the story, it seems perfectly obvious from the record that the manner of our Lord's coming, whatever it may have been, made no discernible difference in the conditions of his human experience. Certainly it did not guarantee him against physical suffering. Then why

should it be thought to guarantee him against moral struggle? Or why should it be supposed, in the event of moral struggle, to guarantee the outcome? He was tempted, and the very idea of temptation involves the comprehension of alternatives, and a degree of interest in them. That means again a certain mental obscurity and a certain hesitation of will. Where that was the case, there was certainly no omniscience. It is difficult to see why, if supernatural birth did not of itself assure omniscience, it should yet be held to assure holiness.

There are three ideas associated with Christ which have always had a place in Christian thought, even so early as the New Testament. The three ideas are his uniqueness, his universality, and his preexistence. It has generally been felt that these are in some way involved in the manner of his birth. Is it possible still to retain that feeling? What it is desired to reach is such an understanding of the circumstances of his birth as establishes an evident congruity between the Child and the Man. That congruity can better be established by recognizing the special quality of the human maternity—as is so beautifully done by Luke—than by insisting on so debatable a point as the total absence of human paternity. It is certainly more in keeping with modern modes of thought to believe that God prepared for the coming of his Son not by dispensing with fatherhood but by deepening and purifying and divinizing motherhood. A careful reading of the first three chapters of the Gospel of Luke, apart from all presuppositions as to what is to be found there, will leave in the mind a very serious doubt as to whether Luke ever had the least thought that he was describing an absolutely virgin birth. But what Luke does teach most plainly is that the Spirit of God so possessed Mary, and that he made her so feel the glory of her approaching motherhood, and that he filled her mind with such solemn and rapturous thoughts concerning her child and his destiny, that the Child was in a very real sense supernaturally born. It can never be certain that Luke describes a virgin birth; it can never be uncertain that he describes a birth in which God was specially implicated—a "supernatural" birth, if the term is properly understood. To use modern categories, he is seeking a psychological

rather than a physiological explanation of the later Messianic consciousness and vocation. Perhaps this was a point of view which the prosaic Matthew could not appreciate, although there is room for discussion even of that.

Whatever may be the exegetical soundness of this suggestion that the function of the Spirit of God in relation to the Child Jesus was not that of "immediate" conception, but that of a special, even "miraculous" preparation of the heart and mind of Mary, it is at least no less congruous with a Christian philosophy of the universe than is the theory of an absolutely virgin birth. Moreover, it accounts equally well—for some people it accounts better—for all the other facts associated with the Redeemer, in particular the three ideas already mentioned—his uniqueness, his universality, and his preexistence.

(1) Uniqueness. The general impression created on us by the New Testament is that Jesus Christ is associated with God's gracious purpose to redeem mankind. He was associated with it in a way such as no other ever has been. The impression has entered into the Christian heritage, and become one of the foundations of the faith. We believe that Jesus Christ is the world's hope because he represents in a unique way God's purpose of love and grace.

Historically, of course, the title "The Christ" means "The Anointed One," and it has the same root significance as the Hebrew word "Messiah." But Jesus was not born "The Christ," if we take the term in reference to the vocation he eventually discharged, any more than, shall we say, Abraham Lincoln was born President of the United States of America. The announcement of the angels must be regarded as anticipative, especially if we bear in mind the slow steps whereby Jesus came to his Messianic consciousness. What we may rather say is that he was born to become the Christ. This involves that we recognize a distinction between what is represented by his personal and—to use the crude term—his official designations. There is that which the name "Jesus" stands for, and there is that, wholly separable from it in thought, because of which he came at last to be called "The Christ." Precisely this distinction underlies the prologue

of the Fourth Gospel. The one was born, lived, and died; the other knows neither beginning nor ending, for it is the "Logos," it is that *with which* he became anointed, it is that *with which* he came at last to be identified. The uniqueness of Jesus Christ, then, or, as we should say, Jesus the Christ, is in the fact that in him for the purposes of divine grace an eternal and integral feature of the Godhead came to an absolute manifestation under the conditions of human life.

It is the Christian belief that this divine invasion of the world was for the sake of human redemption. But such an invasion must necessarily be made through the instrumentality of a human life. God's problem, therefore—if one may be allowed the expression—was just this problem of the instrument. "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son," and the fulness of the time was when the necessary conditions had been obtained. Even the Incarnation, act of grace though it were, was according to law. The Eternal would come into time through a human life. But that could only be as there was a life which made possible the divine purpose. Surely what Luke would have us see, and what John also would seem to imply, is that we owe the coming of Jesus not to any arbitrary dispensing with a human factor but to the unusual activity of the divine. God needed a special instrument for a special purpose, but he could get it only in appropriate conditions, and he waited as long as he did because his action—there as elsewhere—was to be not arbitrary and lawless, but profoundly law-abiding. It is perfectly permissible for us to say that God "chose" Mary, but he chose her because she was already fit to be chosen, and because she was so wholly responsive to the rich tutelage of the Holy Spirit throughout those waiting months. Such a view of the matter at once dispenses with all necessity of attempting to bolster up the gospel narrative by showing that science is not hostile to the idea of parthenogenesis. It dispenses with the eminently distasteful theories of "mystic analogies." It retains the presence of the supernatural and unique without violating our deep-seated sense of order. It is a frank recognition of special divine action for a special purpose, which never needs to be repeated because its

object was attained. In a word, it means—and no one can deny that this rings true to the New Testament—that we explain Jesus of Nazareth through the exigencies of God's purpose of grace for men.

God is Eternal Holiness and Eternal Love. He would have men see that holiness, and he would have men see that love. Such a revelation it was not possible to make except through a human personality. We believe that there was a necessity for this revelation by incarnation. It was necessary from the divine side, and it was necessary from the human side. In Jesus, that necessity is met. In him, God broke into the stream of humanity as he had never done before. He entered into the most intimate personal relation with the life which, it is not too much to say, had been especially prepared for that purpose. The conditions had been secured in which it was possible for God to make an absolute expression in a human life of that integral feature of his Being which we designate "The Eternal Christ." Such an expression was in that personal achievement whereby the Man Jesus entered wholly into the innermost meaning of God and his purpose in the world. To do that was his vocation. God had waited long for the ripening of the conditions that would make it possible, not by arbitrary and extraneous means, but by inward and moral and therefore law-abiding means, for himself and a human life to enter into such an intimacy of personal relationship as should amount to the establishing of an essential moral identity. In the realization of that relationship, Jesus realized also absolute God consciousness and God realized absolute man consciousness. In the absolute involution of the human and the divine in a common consciousness, meaning an identity of experience through an identity of purpose achieved through an identity of will, very God became very Man and very Man became very God. "I and my Father are One." That having been done, it was done once and for always. It was truly "a finished work." Speculation on the possibility of "another Christ" is cheap and superficial. The divine-human achievement in Jesus Christ was accomplished because it was necessary. But for the necessity, there would have been no such achievement, and there will never be a like achieve-

ment because there is no longer the necessity. Herein lies the uniqueness of Jesus Christ. In respect to his relation to the world's redemption he is sole Saviour, sole High Priest, sole Sacrifice, sole Mediator, as solitary as the mysterious Melchisedec. Not by duplicating his God consciousness are we saved: to seek that would be presumption indeed, and even those who most insist on its theoretical possibility are not notably eager to make any personal claim regarding it. But rather are we saved by faith, which is to say by the utter assent that we make to that whole body of truth and reality of which "Jesus the Christ," in his spirit, in his experience, in his achievement, is the all-sufficient and everlasting attestation and guarantee.

(2) Universality. That same reality in God which John calls the Logos, and which is the basis of the absolute God consciousness of Jesus, is also the basis of human personality. The degree in which God is manifested is determined by the nature of the instrument. There is "more" of God in a plant than in a rock; more of him in an intelligent animal than in a tree. That which is most like him most manifests him. Then because we know nothing of higher worth than personality, we make personality at once the instrument of God's most perfect manifestation and the clew to his own real nature. For all that God does rests back upon a prior possibility. He does this or that because, even before it is done, there is in him the *capacity* to do it. That this is a principle which raises a difficult problem when applied to certain features of the world is not to be denied, but the principle is not to be surrendered on that account. If God is Creator, then there is that in God because of which man is possible, and if man is the apex of creation then that in God which makes man possible is of the very essence of God's nature.

But man may be the clew to God without at the same time exhausting all that which he himself indicates as to the nature of God. That is to say: there may be that in God of which man is the evidence while yet the full range and meaning of that divine reality remains unknown. It remains unknown because of the limits which are placed upon its manifestation by the very law which constitutes normal human nature. If then, God could

secure an instrument of the right sort, it is conceivable that he might so manifest himself by means of it as that he may be known forever for what he really is. It was suggested above that the story of the birth is to be understood in the light of this need in God for an adequate instrument. We may speak of a divine incarnation in Jesus because the very conditions which God had secured in his being made possible such a seizure of the human by the divine and of the divine by the human as resulted in one and the same consciousness and therefore one and the same experience being common to both. Human personality has its basis in a fact of the divine nature, and to a degree reveals that fact. The personality of Jesus has a like basis, but it is related to that basis in such a way as that the full meaning of it is seen in him alone. This is what makes him "The Christ." In him, truly human as he is, under a like necessity with all other men to be made perfect through suffering—in him there was achieved that absolute God consciousness which puts him in the category of complete divinity, while he yet at the same time remains in the category of complete humanity.

It is this that justifies faith in regarding Jesus Christ as the Universal Man. As has been said, every human life is grounded in that same divine reality which got itself so fully and finally expressed in him. The principle of racial solidarity may easily be misunderstood or abused, but the principle itself is undeniable, and here is its ultimate basis. Every individual life possesses both a common feature and a unique feature. Its common feature is in the fact that it expresses one and the same aspect of Deity. Every life springs from a common root, and so far as it does that it possesses a common identity and the power of a common experience. But every life has a unique feature in the sense that it is a center of separate personal experience. There are at one and the same time likeness and difference. The likeness is what makes it possible for us to speak of "man." The difference is what makes it possible for us to speak of "men."

Now it is this commonness and difference which is the source of that distinctively human trait whereby one man may act for another, or may think himself into another's place and experience.

All vicarious suffering, and all other vicarious action, is possible because of this fundamental constitution of man. Nevertheless, of no particular man can it be said that he is at the same time universal. Every man expresses the same common divine fact, but no man expresses it wholly. What is now being claimed is that Jesus Christ, because he represents the expression in human terms of that total divine fact which other men express only in part, possesses a universal character. It is because of this universal character that he could act in a universal capacity and accomplish that which had universal significance.

More particularly, what we have here is a philosophy of that great act of faith which makes the full meaning of our Lord and his work practically available. For every man may know himself to be "in Christ." So also may he say with Paul: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." It is true that we may on occasion ascribe a certain representative character to any man, and feel that what he was or did is to a degree ours. But respecting our relation to Jesus Christ this possibility takes on a character wholly unique. Of no other person can every man feel, as he may of him, that he is at once "mine" and "yours," that he does not cease to be "mine" because he is "yours," or cease to be "yours" because he is "mine"; that, indeed, it is only because he is "mine" that he can be "yours," only because he is "yours" that he can be "mine." To the "eyes of faith" his achievement was our achievement, his suffering was our suffering, his victory was our victory, his complete acceptance with God was our acceptance with God. A great deal that was philosophically and psychologically and ethically impossible has been written about the idea of substitution as applied to our Lord and his work, and some drastic criticism of it is still needed. But in our reaction from a false conception we need to be very careful lest we go to the opposite extreme. If there be not a profound truth in the idea of substitution—a truth which Paul is struggling to express in the Epistle to the Romans—then are we indeed without hope in the world. Jesus Christ is represented in the New Testament as possessing a universal and representative character. He possesses that character because what is to some extent revealed by all human life a

reality in the nature of God, is in him laid bare to its uttermost extent. There therefore exists between Jesus Christ, thus conceived, and every other man what theologians have been wont to call "an original relation." There can be finite personality only because God is as he is, and all that God is from this point of view became objective in the experience of our Lord. The divine that is partial in every man is complete in the One Man. The achievement of the One Man is therefore universal. Deity is there and humanity is there, and each is as the other. It remains therefore as a concrete historic fact, in which, on conditions, every man may share. There God meets man and man meets God in a reconciliation which made specific by all men through faith, appears from every standpoint as the final reason for human existence.

(3) Preexistence. Said the Arians: "There was a time when the Son was not." Replied the Athanasians: "The Son was coeternal and consubstantial with the Father—begotten, not made." Whatever we may think of the metaphysics with which the party of Athanasius supported their position, it is not to be disputed that in their insistence that in the Person of the Redeemer there was both "very God" and "very man" they revealed their possession of an unerring instinct for the reality. Yet it is one of the ironies of Christian history that a truth so profound as this should have been bandied about in bitter doctrinal controversies. Where men should have been satisfied to be "helpers of each other's joy," they have felt free to indulge in dogmatic assertion, and to demand unqualified acquiescence therein from others. A few isolated passages of Scripture, about whose exact meaning there must necessarily always be more or less of doubt, have been pushed to their alleged "logical consequences," and made infallible tests whereby to measure the extent and sincerity of men's devotion. What we are to work with and perpetuate is the simple faith of the New Testament that "God was in Christ," and that "God was manifest in the flesh."

A simple question is held to suffice to reveal a man's attitude here: "Do you believe in our Lord's preexistence?" If the answer is satisfactory, there is still another question: "Do you be-

lieve in his personal preexistence?" The usual implication of such questions is that only belief in his personal preexistence can be regarded as satisfactory.

It is certain that we shall never get very far with this idea unless we keep continually in mind the distinction between the human and the divine as this is illustrated in the Person of Christ. Jesus was a particular Man who lived at a particular time and place. In that aspect of him, he was preexistent only in the sense that every other man is—in the sense, namely, that human personality is a manifestation of a certain antecedent divine reality which therefore makes such personality possible. The Child who was born of a human mother cannot, viewed as that mother's Child, be identified with "The Logos," or with "The Creative Cosmic Principle," or with a distinct personal member of a Divine Trinity who had never begun to be, but always was. It is true that such an identity has often been attempted, but it is possible only by the aid of speculation which is notable rather for its subtlety and ingenuity than for its ingenuousness and lucidity. Let us say it frankly, that to affirm that consciousness which gradually became self-aware under the fostering care of a pious village home was the consciousness of a being absolutely divine and eternal in his own native right, not only lacks any known facts to support it, but strains "to the breaking point the credulity of an increasing number of men. We have claimed that the birth story, taken with its entire sequel, means that Jesus is to be explained by the necessities of God's purpose of grace, which necessities, however, could not—at least, did not—abrogate God's respect for the integrity of his own order, but rather were conditioned by it. Even God must secure his instrument before he could realize his end, and he secured his instrument according to his own orderly habit. It is open to anyone to say that he did not—that the New Testament teaches that he smashed his order at this point. The reply to that is twofold: In the first place, that the New Testament is susceptible of a different interpretation; and in the second place, that if God could have done at any earlier time he cared to choose what he at last did in Christ, the delay is indefensible before the bar of human ethical judgment.

But it is a different matter if God was waiting "because he had to," that is, because he needed appropriate conditions which he could secure only according to "laws" which expressed his own essential nature, Jesus, we believe, fulfilled a unique vocation. As we have said, he was the chosen instrument through which God entered in the most intimate way into a human experience and showed himself to mankind in the one way in which that was necessary, and in the only way in which it was possible. But the degree in which the divine could enter into the human was exactly proportioned to the degree in which the human could enter into the divine. That which was everlasting in the bosom of the Father at length stood before men, and it did that when it was absolutely apprehended in a human consciousness which thereupon became absolute divine consciousness as well. It is in this sense alone that we can make intelligible the notion of our Lord's preexistence; or let us rather say that because we believe this we *will*, we *must*, speak of his preexistence, of "the Word become flesh," of God being "in Christ," of God "manifest in the flesh," of "the glory which he had with the Father before the world was," of "the love wherewith the Father loved him before the foundation of the world." In reverent adoration we hold him in our thought, and with a conviction that we cannot escape and for which we will offer no apology, we exclaim: "There never was a time when THIS was not. THIS is that Sonship that is 'co-eternal and con-substantial with the Father.' THIS is that truth and grace, that love and holiness, which are enshrined in the very heart of Eternal Being. THIS is the reason for things. THIS is that for whose sake creation is. THIS is the Light that lighteth every man coming into the world. THIS is what men have ever groped for, blindly enough indeed, but concerning which God has nowhere left himself wholly without witness. THIS is the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. THIS is the promise and power of human redemption,—the earnest that struggling and disrupted humanity shall finally become one family, moved by one Spirit, and forever bearing one Name."

What we see in Jesus then that makes him at once solitary and universal is not something created and temporal, but some-

thing uncreated and eternal. It is that that we worship, for it is divine. It is in that that we trust, for it can never fail. And we turn to the Fourth Gospel, and we make our own the words of him from whose fruitful mind, wherein memory wedded thought, that immortal utterance came: "Amid the uncreated origins was the Word. The Word was with God; yea, it was divine. Because of it all things that were made were made. In it was Life, such Life as was Light for men. There was never a time when it was not in the world, unknown though it might have been. A few there were who understood it, and these, whatever their race or time, became thereby children of God. At last the Word entered a human life, and dwelt there as God might dwell in his temple. Then indeed was the glory of God revealed. For God's glory is his grace and truth, the Word which he utters eternally. It is as though he were a Father, and Grace and Truth his Only Son. Like the mind that reveals itself in speech, God is unseen, but he is declared as to his grace and truth in Jesus Christ, even as sonship declares fatherhood or as speech declares thought."

Divine? Preexistent? Eternal? If God is not such as meets us in Jesus Christ, then God cannot greatly concern us at all. If he is not this, then is he less than this, for he cannot be more. More we do not need. With less we cannot be content. God is then here or nowhere. He was always this, or he was never this. So, "My Lord—and My God!"

A PAGE OF POETRY

STORM-WINDS

Of a sudden the solid cloud-bank rushed aside,
And the noon shone bright for a space before the rain;
And the winds were still, and a hush fell deep and wide
Ere the threatened hurricane.

Only an hour, and the jealous winds once more
Had built their castle of cloud, and barred the door;
An hour of calm, and the leaves and the driven dust
Renewed their feverish dance with the gypsy gust;
But the heart was light, for the rain-dimmed eyes
Had seen the skies.

Through a clouding grief at noonday broke the sun,
On a life that baffling fears had blown about,
Only a flash, and the threatened storm begun,
And the kindled torch went out.

But the soul nevermore could sink to a lower plane,
Hope lifted beyond the bluster of wind and rain;
For the light of Heav'n had shone for a moment through,
And in one clear flash, ere the tempest raged anew,
Ere the leaves were strewn and the clouds were blown,
She had seen, and known.

ANON.

THE DYING SUN

Across the crowded streets and filthy courts
Long shadows fell; but still the faithful sky
Her passing lord his dying honors gave.
Her white-robed priests bent o'er his purple couch
And held the dark-winged demons from their prey.
His shrift made clean, he sank into his grave,
No cloud of sin remaining on his brow.
And then, the shining servitors of heaven
High heaped his tomb with rose and violet,
While east and west there flamed a sudden joy
To hear his message, "I will come again!"
O City, by the gateway of the sea!
About thy busy life and noisy trade
God wraps his robe of beauty evermore.
Remember thou the witness of the sky!

ANON.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

CHARACTER AND CREED

PHILLIPS BROOKS in his remarkable *Lectures on Preaching* everywhere insists that the sermon is composed of two elements, truth and personality. And the latter is the more important, for to have power it must be a message out of life. And it is true, not only of preaching but of all life. The making of manhood is the final cause of all truth and of all things. So Paul advises a young preacher, "Take heed unto thyself and to the doctrine." He puts life before doctrine. Of course a bad man can do some good; a lost or a blind man could light a beacon. Yet personal piety is the highest power in preaching. Doctrines must be alive to be effective. Truth to achieve its highest ends must come not like incense from the censer that only holds it, but like fragrance from the flower that produces and exhales it.

Character affects creed. Personality tinges perception. We carry with and in us the light by which we can read and interpret the open page of nature, history, and life. Give man a new set of senses and science would be revolutionized. Yellow the vision with jaundice and glory will vanish from the world. So self conditions doctrine. "Human things must be known to be loved, but divine things must be loved to be known." It is only the pure in heart that can really see God. "He that loveth not knoweth not God." Doctrines ought to be preached. They should be carefully wrought out by the brain, yet they cannot be truly forged by the intellect until they have come to white heat in the furnace of the heart.

Character not only shapes the forming of the creed but affects its teaching. Truth gets its real power from personality. It is not what is said but the way genius says it that turns words into revelation. Back of literary immortality is creative personality.

The medium colors and lends its glory or its defects to the light passing through it. We may teach mechanically, but there must be more than speech in a sermon, there must be moral contagion. The truth must first thrill the preacher's heart and inspire his life. Living reality cannot be imitated. Fire must touch the lips. Wax flowers may be more perfect in form and color than natural blossoms, but they are without perfume, do not attract the bees, and have no vital power of reproduction. Doctrine apart from life is a dead thing.

Character is more mighty than creed.

It is more intelligible. There is obscurity in all speech. We need many translations of the Bible, but the best of all is its rendering into character the living epistles that all can read and understand and that no criticism can cheapen.

It is more convincing. Fact cuts the knot of theory. Men often feel that preaching is impracticable, that the sermon states something too seraphic for the plain prosaic possibilities of life. But experience is the test of truth. A layman once told the writer: "It was hard for me to believe in entire sanctification until I knew Bishop Ninde!" God's greatest word is his Living Word. He embodies his supreme truth in a Life.

> For so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds,
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought.

It is more available. There are times when preachment is useless or impossible, then the living gospel of living patient character has its chance. Suppose a man should brag about the beauty of his orchard, and, when you went to see it, instead of showing you in springtime the lovely white and pink blooms against the sky or in the fall the glory of the gold and crimson fruit, should lead you down cellar and point out ten barrels of cider vinegar! Yet cider is the concentrated essence of orchard and doctrine is an induction from life. Many pseudo-fundamentalists are intoxicating their people with the hard cider of dogma rather than feeding them with the fruit of religion.

It is more important. Chemistry explains breadmaking, but does not feed folks. Making a fire does not necessarily imply a correct theory of heat. Applied science must always be given precedence to scientific theory. It is more important to love and obey God than to define him. A preacher can be right sorry for the folks who do not believe what he preaches, but if they do not believe him it will break his heart.

High Christian character is the abiding need of the church. Only a supernatural life can sustain a supernatural creed. This is the final appeal in an age of skepticism. Not a dead philosophy, not historical tradition, but living power is the safeguard of the church. It is the divine life that proves its doctrines divine.

Apostasy of life is the only fatal heresy. Neither higher critics nor modernist theologians are as dangerous to the church of Jesus Christ as its dishonest members, selfish officials, unclean livers, foul fighters, hateful liars, greedy gainers, and unkindly speakers. Hypocrisy is the worst infidelity. It was not the publicans and sinners, but the Scribes and Pharisees who were the worst enemies of the Kingdom.

What tests of orthodoxy would Jesus apply! Hear him say it: "If any man wills to do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." Creed does not create character, but character will lead to a worthy creed. Reason is instrumental in human life, but will is fundamental.

THE DIVINE IN MAN AND THE HUMAN IN GOD

Gilbert Keith Chesterton, in his paradoxical apologetic treatise called *Orthodoxy,* says: "Christ had even a literary style of his own, not to be found, I think, elsewhere; it consists of an almost furious use of the *a fortiori.*" Which is quite true if we somewhat soften the word "furious." Jesus constantly used the *argumentum a fortiori* in ways that perplexed the conservative orthodoxy of his day—and of ours. Perhaps the supreme example is to be found in John 10. 31-36. He had just said, "I and my Father are One." And then those who protested against paying divine honor to a human being began to throw stones at him. To

them his phrase was blasphemy and they say: "Do you, a mere man, make yourself God?" He then sets forth this unique argument: In the 82d Psalm God is pictured as standing in an assembly of the great summoned by himself for a judicial session. He drastically criticises the conduct of the judges present and yet he says, "Ye are gods and all of you are children of the Most High." If those to whom the Word of God came are called "gods," is He, who is the Consecrated Messenger of heaven, blaspheming when he calls himself God's Son?

Now, this argument was something more than a sacred pun on the word "god." Any human being who possesses any divine quality has in himself something divine. Are human judges divine? Yes, because justice is a divine attribute—Christianity is a religion of faith in man as well as of faith in God. On the one hand our Lord claims kinship with God, and on the other lifts the whole of humankind with him up to God. Our anthropology is an essential part of our theology.

"In the image of God made he man"—such is a primitive revelation of the Pentateuch, and a psalmist sings in answer to the questioning What is man? "Thou hast made him a little less than the Divine"; while a sage says that "the Spirit of man is the candle of Jehovah." Our inner nature is a spark struck from the burning essence of God himself. The human spirit, man's moral perception, the conscience, is a searchlight of God illuminating all the chambers of the soul. Conscience is not only the creation of God, but in its moral substance is itself divine.

It takes more than physical sight to see the divine in man. There is often a difference between an artistic portrait and a photograph. For we are apt to leave our souls behind when we sit for a photograph, but the painter waits for a chance to surprise the soul. There is a concealed glory in our lives which faith can see and which Jesus knows. He always appealed to what was likest God in the human spirit. Philosophical and cynical skepticism often fails to discern it. Even Carlyle says of Englishmen: "Twenty millions of people—mostly fools!" Pascal gets a glimpse of it when he calls man "the glory and the scandal of the universe." But the poets everywhere proclaim it.

Two Greek bards write, "We also are his offspring." And George MacDonald sings to his baby boy:

> Where did you get your eyes of blue?
> "Out of the sky as I came through."

And Wordsworth gives every babe a preexistent glory:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
> The soul that rises with us, over life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting
> And cometh from afar.
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> Nor yet in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.

What is God's greatest work? It is that in which we see most of himself. We profess to see God in Nature and we can, for all beauty is the beauty of God, all wisdom is the wisdom of God, and all power is the power of God. But the mountain with its dome of snow shall melt one day in mist, the ocean shall cease its song, and the stars fall like overripe fruit. Man shall live on forever. We are dull, if seeing God in Nature, with its terror of disease and death, we fail to see something divine in man, with his moral will and heart that can love. He has a bodily pedigree that goes downward to the dust; but he has a spiritual heritage that reaches upward to God.

Modern religion is less afraid of anthropomorphism in its doctrine of God than are speculative agnosticism and metaphysical theologies. We are getting far more human in our religious thinking than were the scholastic confessionalists. Holy Scripture presents God very differently from many books of philosophy and most theological systems. Doubtless God used the Hebrew mind as the instrument of revelation because of its concrete stress on living reality, rather than the Greek intellect with its abstract tendency. In the Hebrew Scriptures God speaks through human experience and interprets himself through human life. He is Shepherd, King, Father, Mother, etc. His power is pictured as a hand, his knowledge as an eye, his sympathy as an ear, and his love as a heart. Our theologies have often made God impossible, but the Bible sees him not only as anthropomorphic, but as anthro-

popathic. He loves, sorrows, pities, rejoices, and repents. Even what in man become grave selfish faults he sublimates into divine attributes. He hates, is angry, and knows the painful jealousy of slighted love. What wonder that when Moses cries, "Show me thy face!" he gets a glimpse not of ontological but moral attributes, and that when God would complete his self-revelation, a door in heaven opened and a Man came down. Anthropomorphism, even when spelled with a capital A, cannot terrify present-day Christianity.

The human in God is the basis of revelation. There can be no disclosure of God to man excepting on the ground of some community of nature between them. Doubtless there is much in God that we cannot see and never can know, but there must be something in his nature which is like ours, the pattern after which we were made. This is implied in the Idea of Plato, the Logos of John, the Pleroma of Paul. Even in nature there are vibrations of air that our ears cannot hear and undulations of ether that our eyes cannot see. Yet there is a range of seven or eight octaves that we can translate into music, a spectrum rich with its sevenfold glory of color that we transfer to the canvas in creative art. So while there may be in God long reaches of the unknowable that no human searching ever can find out, there is also in him that which lies level to our nature. This is the God of the Bible, the revealed God of religion. It is the human in God that speaks to the heart of humanity; it is the divine in man that responds to the voice of God.[1]

Is there then no distinction between God and man? Are we divine in the same sense that Jesus was divine? No, for there are both a qualitative and a quantitative discrimination.

Sin has set a barrier between God and man. But in Jesus Christ there is no trace of sin. You can find it in the greatest of mankind—in Moses, David, Paul, Luther, and Wesley. But depravity is not an attribute but a perversion of human nature.

[1]That celebrated work, Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, a skeptical criticism of the anthropomorphic character of our religion, could be transformed into an excellent theological treatise by knocking out its Hegelian philosophy and substituting a pragmatic interpretation. In like manner the Agnosticism of Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* is tolerably destructive of the metaphysical Deity of Unitarianism and scholastic theology, but cannot touch the God who is manifest in the flesh.

Men ought to be like God. Holiness is health; sin is disease. The stunted plant in the north is still a child of the sun and a brother to the palm. So does man even in his sin possess a kinship to the heavenly life. Because our Lord was without sin, he was the only real Man that ever lived. Man is a son of God on whom the devil has laid his hand and not a child of the devil that God is trying to steal.

There is also a quantitative distinction. No man reveals God with the completeness of the Christ. "It hath pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell." Conceive the universe as a great letter game. Men come to it and from its multiple alphabets of created glory they choose the letters that spell out the characteristics of their lives. The artist spells beauty, the philosopher wisdom, the scientist truth, and the saint holiness. Only Jesus Christ can spell them all. His nature covers the whole of humanity and reaches so far beyond that of the individual man in every direction that no man gets to God but by and through him.

The mission of Jesus is to make both these differences less, to make man more Godlike. He came not merely to reveal God, but to develop the God-life in us. You cannot cure the invalids in a hospital by marching an athlete through the wards and saying, "Gaze on perfect health and be healed!" Jesus is more than an example, he is a Saviour. He not only reveals the perfect manhood and therefore the Godhead; he imparts divinity. The Incarnation climaxes in the Atonement. His atoning grace brings that reincarnation we theologically term regeneration. "As many as received him to them gave he power to become the sons of God."

What is heaven but God revealing more and more his human heart of love and man rising more and more to divine heights of holiness, knowledge, and might? The most triumphant cry of human hope is, "We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." O that some day, when we pass the pearly gate and our feet touch the golden pavement, our ears shall hear an angel say: "He comes, a younger brother of the Elder Brother; *he looks like Him!*"

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

THE Books of Ezra and Nehemiah raise many rather difficult critical questions, but these do not seriously affect the religious values of the post-exilic literature. Israel has grown more formal but also more stable in its religion. For English commentaries the first place must be given to that of L. Z. Batten in the *International Critical Commentary* series. Somewhat simpler is Ryle in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, and Davies in the *New Century Bible*. High homiletic value is in Adeney's volume in the *Expositor's Bible*. Useful books on this period are Rawlinson's *Ezra and Nehemiah* in the Men of the Bible series and Cheyne's *Jewish Religious Life After the Exile*. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* also should be consulted.

THE RETURN OF THE RANSOMED

When we assert the inspiration of the Bible, we have by no means fathomed the real depths of that doctrine. Back of the sacred Book lie the holy facts. God not only inspires the words of prophecy, but also the deeds of history. That holy men of old have spoken as they were moved by the Holy Spirit is a wonderful and sublime truth, but more wonderful still is the fact that in all ages God has moved men not only to speak and write, but also to act. If the record is divine, still more divine is the story back of the record. So it is written: "Jehovah stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia" to permit the return of his captive people. It is one of the great turning points in the human story; the scepter of world dominion is passing from the Semitic to the Aryan race. Yet all these mighty movements of empire are for the sake of the kingdom of God; he is devising means to bring back his banished to their home. Cyrus, one of the half dozen greatest masters of men in all the ages, is but the servant of Jehovah to accomplish his will. The decree of Cyrus is not less inspired if viewed as shrewd statecraft. The denationalizing policy of Nebuchadnezzar had done its work in securing the discipline of Israel through exile, and now the centrifugal policy of Cyrus will be God's path to his purpose of restoration (Ezra 1. 1–11).

It was a penitent and pious people that were led by Prince Sheshbazzar back to their native land. As in Egypt these nomad tribes of the desert had been trained in the arts of life and became a nation, so in Chaldea the nation became a church with a spiritual creed and worship. It was on foreign soil that Israel became the people of the law; there the sacred books were edited, the synagogue established, religious education begun, and personal religion developed. By the sharp discipline of national suffering, the people were purged of the fearful faults that proceeded from idolatry and nature worship. They will doubtless develop a lot of new sins in the way of narrow legalism and spiritual pride, but the gross sensuality of the preexilic days is passed forever.

It was the elite of the nation that had gone into banishment and now by a system of spiritual selection these are winnowed to find the seed for newly planting the soil of their native country. The exile had been com-

pulsory; the return is voluntary. God breathed upon the dry bones of a dead nation, and under the heaven-sent impulse it leaped to life again. Divine sovereignty acting through gracious inspiration joins with human freedom giving itself in glad surrender. "He drew me, and I followed on;" such is the well-nigh perfect statement of the glad accord of God and man to work out the eternal purpose. So fifty thousand volunteers join the caravan led by Zerubbabel across the weary desert ways to rebuild Zion and restore its Temple and worship.

The decree of Cyrus called not only for the free offering of life, but also of substance. The king sets the example by returning the sacred vessels carried off by Nebuchadnezzar. He makes full restitution for the robbery of God's house. And the people first gave themselves and then their gifts to the holy enterprise. Is not the lavish luxury which furnishes many modern homes, an actual theft from the altars of God? God would assuredly return to many a deserted church, if his ransomed people would set their faces thitherward, their hands laden with freely offered treasure.

One note dominates all the literature of the return, that of an overflowing joy. The tide of sacred song, arrested by the woe of the captivity, is released, and scribe and psalmist set both history and hymn to the melody of a new exultant music. For more than a generation strains of sorrow only have quivered in the voices and been struck from the strings of the singers and players of Israel. "When shall we come and appear before God?" had been the minor refrain incessantly sounding in their psalmody. But now has blossomed a nation's springtime and all the songbirds of the soul soar up to fill the sky with their jubilant notes. Two hundred singing men and singing women form the chorus which, led by the sons of Asaph, cheer the long pilgrimage with their joyous anthems and hail the Holy City with pæans of praise. "The ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."

The story enfolds meaning within meaning. It is a perfect parable of the good will of God to a penitent and surrendered people. Have we not all in the house of our bondage heard some strain of the far-off music of deliverance?

> Sometimes it chanted too of exiled men
> On the sad bank of that strange river, life,
> Hanging the harp of their deep heart desires
> To rest upon the willow of the Cross,
> And longing for the everlasting hills,
> Mount Zion and Jerusalem of God.

A Lesson in Church Building

The supreme purpose of Israel in returning from the Babylonian exile was not political but religious. They aimed not so much at a restored nationality as at a rebuilt temple. By the Deuteronomic law, there was but one place for offering sacrifice, one spot where God and man could meet in the covenant of peace. The visible house of God is the

rallying point of religion. It is a perpetual prayer in stone, witnessing to all who pass by for God, duty, and eternity. So the people are not content "to live in ceiled houses while the Lord's house lies waste," and the story of their pious undertaking furnishes lessons to the temple builders of all time. (Ezra 3. 10 to 4. 5.)

They restored worship before rearing the walls of the sanctuary. They first "set the altar in its place." A true temple must have deeper foundations than those laid in stone and mortar. Worldly pride and the social spirit can create costly piles of splendid architecture, but the true church begins with religious revival. An era of church building may be a time of spiritual decadence. There is always a temptation to express outwardly more piety than we possess inwardly. There is a holier shrine in the unseen world of motive, with its personal offering of love and service, which must precede all effective church erection. One of these foundation stones is unity; "the people gathered themselves as one man." Another is sacrifice; the worship of offerings, suspended for half a century, is now reestablished and the path to the rebuilt altar is thronged with willing worshipers bearing glad gifts in their hands. The altar, the meeting place of God and man, is the one significant thing; for us to-day the center of all is the cross of Christ. The consecrated life should precede the dedicated house.

They made the worship of words real by the worship of giving. Besides the treasure collected in Chaldea, they "willingly offered free will offerings unto Jehovah." These poor colonists, less than fifty thousand in number, put the claims of the house of God first. And they did not leave a burden of debt for posterity to bear. They seem to have adopted the rule, "Pay as you go." They would not saddle their gift to God with a mortgage to man. They placed nature and life under tribute; the skill of artisans, the mechanism of commerce, the trees of Lebanon, the treasure of Cyrus, and the bounty of field and vineyard all were pressed into the service of Jehovah. Having first given themselves, it was easy to yield all to God.

They refused all doubtful assistance in their holy enterprise. To be sure, they did not reject the aid of Cyrus, heathen though he was, for his offering had no conditions and was granted from a great and generous motive. But they would none of the proffered assistance of the Samaritan sectaries, with their mongrel creed and corrupt worship. This refusal was not an intolerant assertion of a selfish and strenuous orthodoxy; it was necessary, in the interests of righteousness, to preserve the reforms won by the discipline of the exile. Not only purity of worship but of moral life was at stake. The world will often offer a subscription to our building fund and to current expenses if we will compromise with its standards. Keep still about social sins and moral reform, and even the saloons will help pay the preacher. The temptation was great; their numbers were few, and it would be easy to swell their church records by admitting these somewhat suspicious communicants to their feasts. But Prince Zerubbabel and Priest Jeshua were not like some modern ministers who draw into their communion all the tadpoles

in creation with the net of their so-called liberality. They would accept neither "tainted money," tainted opinions, nor tainted lives. "Ye have nothing to do with us in building a house to our God." And then these would-be helpers showed their real colors by organizing a malicious opposition. But worldly and wicked folks are less dangerous outside the church fighting it, than inside its walls, corrupting its life and poisoning its influence.

They laid its foundations in music, and its walls rose to the rhythm of sacred song. The real springs of joy are from the altars of God. To be sure the tears of the old men, stirred by mournful memories of the former house, mingled with the cheers of the young all aglow with exalting hope, but the shouting and the weeping were blended into one music that was heard afar. This is the truest consecration of a corner stone, the best dedication of a church, that every stone from the ground beneath to sky-kissing spire above shall quiver with the undulations of a people's praise. Song is the highest speech of the sanctuary; music is the holiest and most spiritual of all the arts. It will be a sign of real revival when, not from organ pipes and choirs alone, but from the united hearts and lips of great congregations shall rise the swelling tide of sanctified song. As the stones of Thebes are fabled to have danced to their places in the walls to the music of Orpheus, so shall the living stones of holy lives be built into the spiritual temple to the heavenly harmony of a revived minstrelsy in the church.

Human Prudence or Divine Providence?

Ezra, the scribe-priest, who could trace his pedigree to Aaron, was the leader of a great "men and religion" movement in his age. For the company that halted at Ahava, before striking across the desert toward Jerusalem, was composed almost wholly of laymen. It is vastly fine when the activities of the church find their initial impulse in the pews. But Ezra, himself a minister of religion, was too true to his own order and was too sane and sensible a soul to ignore the need of clerical leadership. And so he sends to Priest Iddo, the chief of the theological school at Casiphia, for some forty ministers of God's house to join the expedition. And the laymen honored their ministers with a noble confidence; to these holy men they committed the holy vessels and the holy offering, only requiring a strict accounting of their trust when they should reach the holy city. There were no cheap sneers either at the business ability or the integrity of the Levites; the laity and clergy worked together in perfect harmony for the restoration of the house and city of God. (Ezra 8. 21-32.)

Nowadays we begin every big movement with a banquet, but Ezra proclaimed a fast. If our first aim is to secure numbers, our modern method is doubtless the better, for you can get more folks to a feast than to a fast. While it is highly important to interest men, it is indispensable to secure the favor of God. Humility must begin all high achievement in the religious realm. A banquet is a good thing if it attracts human attention, for we need men in our enterprise; a prayer meeting is a better

thing if it touches the hand of infinite power, for we can do nothing without God.

There is no more delicate duty than that of balancing the claims of human prudence and the Divine Providence. Ezra meets this problem at the very outset. He has but a small company to cross the dangerous desert, then as now infested with Bedouin brigands; he is carrying a large treasure, a rich booty to tempt these marauders. The king has granted a firman of political protection to his pious undertaking, shall he also ask a military escort against the perils of the road? The decision of Ezra was determined by a noble pride in the honor of Jehovah. He had proudly professed, "The hand of our God is upon all those that seek him for good," and so he makes his requisition not upon the King of Persia but upon the King of kings, and puts his trust not in the arm of flesh but in the hand of Omnipotence.

Is it never right to take account of material means in the work of God? The old proverb has it, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry." Certainly the God of nature and law will honor that intelligent faith in him and his law which does not ask him to save us from the stupidity which has let our ammunition get damp! "The good man guideth his affairs with discretion." For a lazy, thriftless man to pray for daily bread, for ignorant souls to implore divine healing while neglecting the powers of health he has placed in hygiene and medicine, to recklessly depend upon God to repair the results of our wicked disobedience to his laws is not the heroism of faith but sinful and selfish presumption. The thousands who have followed the guidance of a late ignorant, dishonest, and superstitious old woman in Boston are not believers above all others, but are disloyal to the concrete facts of life which are themselves a revelation of the will of God.

The example of Ezra must not be quoted in defense of such quixotic folly. There come times to us all when to shape our actions by earthly policy is to compromise a principle. At such a crisis every consideration of human prudence must be thrown to the winds in absolute reliance upon the divine providence. At such a moment the two swords we have hid in our mantles are less for protection than the twelve legions of angels who wait to reinforce our helplessness.

Christians should never forget that the honor of God is in their hands. When we overmuch value the world, and rule our lives by worldly maxims, what wonder that men regard our profession of faith in spiritual verities as hollow mockery? When hippodrome revivalism thinks it can import a revival by sending for an evangelist and his singing books, instead of falling upon our faces before the living God for the gift of his divine power, we tie the hands of God himself by our confidence in worldly men, means, and measures. Those modern exponents of the romance of faith, our missionaries in heathen lands, instinctively learn not to be constantly appealing to the civil authorities for protection. Bishop Colenso lost the confidence of the Zulus when they found that he had a cannon among his missionary stores! "Woe unto them that rely on horses and trust in chariots because they are many, and in horsemen

because they are very strong, but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek Jehovah!"

We must trust implicitly in the special providence of God, but we dare not impose upon it the task of undoing the evil wrought by the special improvidence of man.

THE ARENA

"WITHOUT BODY OR PARTS"

I HAVE read with interest the contributions in the REVIEW concerning the "Articles of Religion" as a test of membership. Through them I was reminded of an experience I had while pastor for thirteen years in Calcutta (I think it was then the longest pastorate in Methodism).

In that church over and above all the natural difficulties connected with the pastorate of a Christian church in a non-Christian city, there were in it three clear-cut color-line divisions. There were pure Indians, pure Europeans and Americans, and also Anglo-Indians, or, as they were sometimes called, Eurasians, which name suggests the mixture of European and Asiatic blood. By far the larger part of the congregation was of the latter class, and many of them the finest type of Christian people.

Among the pure European families regular members of the congregation was a well-to-do Protestant Irish family. They had found what they called our free American ways on the whole more agreeable to them than any other Protestant congregation in the city. The wife and mother with several of the young people had been converted and had joined the church. They became much interested in getting the father converted and to have him also join the church, and enlisted my co-operation. He was a literalist, had a critical and analytical mind, and leaned toward the Plymouth Brethren organization. However, after several years of work he professed conversion, joined on probation and at the time when he was to be received into full membership the interesting part of my story begins. It was my custom to receive persons on probation and from probation into full membership on the first Sunday morning of the month. The Church of England atmosphere which prevailed in the city I took advantage of, and made the communion service the great Sunday morning service of the month. To avoid the heat the service was held at 7:30 A. M. That is, before coming to church the people would have their *choti hazri* (little breakfast) and then come to service and were home again for their real breakfast before the greatest heat of the day.

On this particular morning my Irish friend appeared in my study about 6:45, in an excited mood saying, "I cannot join the Methodist Church." I asked why? He put the Discipline down before me and read, "There is but one living and true God, *without body or parts*." Then, in great excitement, went on with the story of how the Bible teaches that God has and uses eyes, ears, mouth, hands and feet, and thundered at me, "You want me to say that I believe God is *without body or parts*. I cannot and I will not join the Methodist Church." Then I made a mistake, perhaps partly because I was in the midst of my final

preparation for the great morning service, perhaps partly because I was over anxious to have this man join the church, and perhaps partly because I did not take in the significance of the intensity of his feeling on the subject. I made about the following foolish reply: "I hope you will not take this too seriously and because of it refuse to join the church with your family. I assume that every one has his own individual conception of the manner in which God exists and I see no objection to each one holding his own conception."

At this he became much more irritated, flung the Discipline on the table and rushed out of the room. As I have said, it was early. He went to the vestry, met the various families as they came to the church, told each his story, and in much temper accused me of being so anxious to get people to join the church that I had tried to get him to perjure himself at the altar of the church. By the time I went into the church I could feel the excitement in the very atmosphere. I can scarce remember how I got through that service which proved not the end but the beginning of my trouble over this matter.

It so happened that about that time an American from Boston came to Calcutta, who was a First Day Adventist. He soon learned of this incident, made friends with the family—they had much in common. The wife left the church and joined her husband. They rented a theater on the same street as my church and held services at the same hour. The first subject of this Adventist preacher as advertised was "The God of the Methodists is *without body and parts*." It was a new excitement in the city and the crowds assembled. The speaker was hard voiced, daring, sarcastic, narrow minded, and a vulgar-mouthed man. So the evening was given to a sarcastic criticism of creeds. The incident with my Irish friend was told in great detail and I was held up to public ridicule as such a hypocrite that I would encourage people to lie at the altar if I could only get them to join the Methodist Church. This service was followed with a series on such subjects as soul sleeping, annihilation, the immediate Second Coming, Universalism and so on. The leading daily of the city carried an advertisement challenging me to meet this Adventist in the largest hall of the city to debate any or all of such subjects. I can at least say this much for myself that I had sense enough not to accept the challenge. My people were flooded with literature. They were not indoctrinated as people at home are and all this gave me endless trouble. The news spread to America and the First-Day Adventist was followed by the founding of the Seventh-Day Adventists in India. They came fourteen strong as missionaries, rented the same theater and set themselves to break up my congregation, which had got used to American ways. That is a much longer and more thrilling, but another story.

Time has flown, Methodism was not broken up in that great city. The great mass of the membership and adherents stood by the pastor and now under the leadership, inspirational and spiritual, of Bishop Fisher and with an excellent pastor, originally from the church South, Methodism in that premier city of India is coming to her own.

Lucknow, India. (Bishop) FRANK W. WARNE.

WHAT IS MINISTERIAL SUCCESS?

THE pulpit is between two fires. One has been lighted by those who insist that worship is the important consideration and who make more of sacramental orders than of prophetic ordination. Another company, whose zeal oversteps knowledge, adds fuel to their fire by insisting on the immediacy of service, attracted by the diversity of institutional activities more than by the intensity of inspirational influence. Both are agreed that preaching should have a subordinate place. They are mistaken, for the "speaking man," as Carlyle described the preacher, has not yet become obsolete. His work is still indispensable for the real building up of the Kingdom of God.

The new emphasis laid on worship and work is not to be discarded. The present impasse of the church will, however, not be overcome by ornate services and multitudinous service, but rather by the enlightened utterances of the pulpit, which give direction to both. The church was never more busy than in the days before the war, but those who have read the two reports on *The Army and Religion* and *Religion Among American Men* cannot resist the humiliating conclusion that the church had failed to impart to its members the kind of light and leading which would have enabled them to meet their besetting temptations with adequate spiritual equipment. The confused ideas of Christianity, the crude notions of the Bible, the provincial conceptions of the Christian life, clearly proved that the teacher-preacher had not been in evidence in the pulpit, and that religious education through this and the other agencies of the church had been perfunctorily performed. The men who were in an "impenetrable fog" concerning the distinctive truths of Christianity and their bearing on life were acknowledged church members, who might have been expected to know something definite as to the Faith and the faith in them. This situation is further confirmed by Professor William Adams Brown in his exhaustive investigation, just published, on *The Church in America* (Macmillan).

The limitations of a questionnaire are self-evident, but it indicates the trend of things. I have therefore read with no little interest Dr. Mary E. Moxcey's university thesis on *Some Qualities Associated with Success in the Christian Ministry* (published by Teachers College, Columbia University). She obtained her material from the minutes of the New York and New York East Conferences, covering a period of fifteen years, prior to and including 1916, and from ministers of these two Conferences. The purpose was to ascertain what constituted success on the basis of sermon, pastoral, executive and evangelistic ability, as evidenced by the judgment of fellow ministers, by the salaries received, by statistical tables, and by the recorded achievements. Of course, such a rating of men fails to do justice to certain important factors of personality, to the character of the clientele, and the changing conditions of the territory in which churches are located. These belong to the psychological diagnostician rather than to the expert statistician, who is strong in figuring, but weak in interpreting, except to a limited extent. Dr. Moxcey

acknowledges as much and is aware of the relative unreliability of the records (p. 39). Even so, her conclusions show the tendency of the church, which gives the highest honor to the executive who "makes things go" by increasing the membership and the contributions to benevolences. "Pastoral ability" is interpreted as a phase of institutional activity, instead of the ministry of comfort, encouragement and direction, which has hitherto made the pastor a personal friend and not an ecclesiastical official.

The supreme objective is to get more members and more money; and to this end good preaching, while profitable enough, is not regarded as a decidedly effective agency. In other words, according to the findings of this thesis, the modern church thinks more of managers than of ministers, of promoters than of preachers, of egotists than of altruists. It therefore holds in questioning regard men with the ruling passion to build Christian character and to Christianize social relationships through preaching. If this is really the case, we have surely got into an ecclesiastical rut. And so long as we remain therein, the conditions lamented in the two reports previously mentioned will continue to be a menace.

This conclusion is borne out in the second part of Dr. Moxcey's volume, which is a study of graduates from the three Methodist Episcopal theological schools at Madison, Boston, and Evanston. This section throws considerable light on the need for vocational guidance. But if the executive is the man most in demand, the theological curriculum must be radically changed, and some of the leading subjects taught in a business college, such as scientific management, book-keeping and the like, should be introduced. If the Bible is studied at all, more attention should be given to the book of Numbers than to the Gospel of John, and to the book of Leviticus, with its ritualistic regulations, than to the Epistle to the Romans, with its dynamic inspirations.

The issue is quite serious, to judge further from confessions of ministers, whose strength is exhausted "running the church," and who are so depleted as to be physically incapable of reading the big books, meditating on the great themes and receiving the clear vision of God in Christ and of a world in need of God, all of which are absolutely indispensable to the man in the pulpit, who would bear an effective witness to the gospel of a full redemption. In connection with the *Reading Course*, I have received such confessions, and, to say the least, the outlook is by no means encouraging. Dr. Hutton, in his searching book, *That the Ministry Be Not Blamed*, points out that the church has recovered after every crisis and has survived, "not by any display of adroitness or superficial resource, not by living from hand to mouth, but by the truth and inevitableness of her spiritual direction, and largely by the candor and conviction of her accredited exponents." Such men may not always succeed as the world counts success, nor even "as congregations and Presbyteries and General Assemblies count success—the more shame to them." But they will nevertheless succeed as servants of the Lord Jesus, in living day by day for great things, with a soul above the ridiculous ambitions of uninspired and worldly men (p. 119ff).

Is ministerial success to be chiefly measured by a materialistic standard? If so, we should alter the manner and tone of our appeals in recruiting men for the ministry from our colleges. A strong book like Bishop McDowell's *This Mind* would then be only a species of tantalizing camouflage! The time for a re-formation has surely come. It is incredible that the church should plow the sands or beat the air or travel in a vicious circle of traditional activities that begin and end nowhere. A renewed study of the New Testament, in the light of modern needs and of the failures and successes recorded in church history, would show us how to prepare ourselves for the new leadership, which belongs not to the priest but the prophet, not to the advertiser but the apostle, not to the man with a program but the man with a message of "love divine all loves excelling."

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD THE CHURCH BE INTERESTED IN LABOR PROBLEMS?

IT has been urged that the church should confine itself to proclaiming the simple gospel of salvation, but should not interfere with economic matters beyond laying down general principles which the individual can apply specifically, as his conscience may dictate. These hold that it is all right to denounce drunkenness, but the church should not in any further way interfere with the liquor business. They claim that it is all right to denounce dishonesty, but the church should not meddle with politics, and seek to turn out of office any who have not been trustworthy. There are those who hold that it is all right to preach the golden rule, but the church should not busy itself in seeking to give it a practical application in industry. Organized Christianity has been charged with being grossly meddlesome in these matters.

There is another group that charges the church with an almost total lack of interest in the oppressed masses. It has even been suspected of being allied with the oppressor and of furnishing him protection. It has been regarded as a rich man's club, and as being the very stronghold of aristocratic oppression. It is needless to say that the arithmetic of those is faulty who say that the wealth of our country is in the hands of a small minority, and with the same breath declare that the fifty million church members of America are guilty of economic oppression as aristocrats.

It is wrong to charge the church in any direct way with the economic ills of our land. If some of those who profess religion do unethical acts, it is poor logic to censure all connected with the church in the same way. They do not censure political and fraternal organizations thus. If the church taught that the less wealthy should be oppressed, and then actively sought to enforce such oppression, there would be a justification of such a censure.

We therefore notice that the church has been between two fires. On the one side it has been attacked by the oppressed, and on the other by their oppressors.

It is true that there is a limit to what the church should do in the way of securing legislation and the enforcement thereof. Yet after a certain amount of teaching has been done it is liable to transmute itself into a practical movement. By this process it has made itself largely responsible for the enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment to our national Constitution. A period of instruction and agitation was followed by the church playing a little wholesome practical politics. When temperance enthusiasts denounced the church as being responsible for the saloon, the writer always resented it. The church never ordered the saloon, nor was the saloon one of her products. He was always ready, however, to urge those of the church to vote against the saloon. He finds himself in the same attitude with respect to economic injustice. He resents it if any one charges the church with being responsible for the oppression of certain classes, and yet he strongly urges a reconstruction of social relationships. This too can be achieved by a process of education which will result in a practical movement.

In dealing with labor problems, the church is liable to make mistakes, but, as some one has said, "The greatest mistake would be to ignore them altogether." The church should interest inself in industrial problems because it has a practical solution for them, and because it can secure whatever legislation it unitedly seeks.

It is undoubtedly true that the three chief parties to all industrial transactions have been largely selfish. These parties are the employer, the employee, and the consumer. The employer desires to produce his commodities at the lowest possible expense, and sell at the highest obtainable figure. This means that he will pay the least for labor that he can. He is best pleased if a considerable number are out of employ, as that will lessen the cost of labor. The fact is that organized capital often plans to keep a certain number of laborers in the list of the unemployed.

On the other hand, labor seeks to obtain the largest amount of pay possible and the shortest working hours obtainable. By using methods of violence it is always in danger of crippling industry and of killing the goose that lays the golden egg in the pay envelope.

War has been the custom for settling disputes between these contestants. Lockouts and strikes have often been resorted to. These sometimes result in bloodshed, violence, and the destruction of property.

Then the consumer is all the time looking for the lowest possible prices. He tries to locate bargains. This gives encouragement to the sweat-shop methods of certain employers.

Various schemes of socialism have been advocated as a solution of this problem of organized capital and organized labor and sometimes organized consumption in the form of co-operative purchasing and boycotts. Whatever the scheme may be that will be finally adopted, it must be one that will furnish adequate reward for brain power, industriousness, and skill, and that will put into active leadership those who have the greater ability.

The masses of the people are far from the position of laboring for others as they will for themselves. When the Russian peasants were

told that they were to raise all the produce possible and bring it to the government depots, then receive from the government all such things as they needed, which they could not produce for themselves, the outcome was that they raised a sufficient supply for their own use, and left others to look out for themselves. This forced the Soviet government to go back to the old method of paying them for their produce, and then exact a one tenth government tax from them.

Unquestionably, all that are not indolent should have a comfortable living on this earth. They should have proper shelter, food, clothing, education, and recreation. There should be a suitable provision made for their comfort in age. Beyond such things as these, society is not responsible. But the resources of this earth are sufficient to do these things, and hence there should be a just distribution of the comforts of life. Many are poor because of indolence and prodigality. These do not merit great consideration. Others, however, are in want who are industrious and economical. Life, to them, is one long, weary, discouraging struggle to keep the wolf from the door. While, on the other hand, there are those who are rolling in wealth, having swollen fortunes. Sometimes these are accumulated through most selfish and dishonest profiteering.

Christianity has a solution for this problem. It is a religion of love and brotherly sympathy. Jesus taught us that God is our Father and we of the human family are brethren. Brothers are supposed to have common interests and to be mutually helpful. The solution is really an easy one. The employer should take a brotherly interest in his employees. He should see to it that they are properly housed and fed and should regard himself largely responsible for their health and comfort. Instead of treating them as slaves who should not be consulted about his business, he should in many things seek their counsel and co-operation and thus secure their friendship. If at all possible, he should make the business co-operative. It should be on a profit-sharing basis. An increasingly large number of firms in big business find that such a scheme is not only humane, but practical and profitable. When men come to regard the plant as *our* institution, they will not waste material and machinery. They will not desire to go on a strike and blow up the plant. They will co-operate. It is far better when these interests are organized in each other's favor than when organized against each other.

It is to the advantage of business to place sufficient wealth into the hands of the ones employed, for these are ultimately the main body of consumers. How can people buy things if they do not have the money with which to do it? To supply the demand requires larger production; and with the larger production comes the larger wealth.

But no system that could be worked out would be a success without the spiritual regeneration of men into a condition of unselfishness and love, with an accompanying willingness to serve their fellow men.

The doctrine of love as taught in the golden rule needs to be emphasized. If professing Christians will practice their creed, both as employers and employees, they will usher in a better day.

The answer to our question, therefore, is, that the church should

interest itself in labor problems and seek to solve them in a Christian way. Every one should make an intelligent study of labor conditions and in consequence be better able to aid in solving these age-long and perplexing problems. It is interesting to notice the pronouncement of the Federal Council of Churches on this subject. The members of these churches should unite in putting their own social creed into effect.

We should seek so to organize our social structure as to make it our chief ambition to raise well-developed men rather than swollen fortunes. There is an enriching tendency in the religion of Christ; and hence with the larger and increasing wealth of individual Christians, they may find themselves getting out of touch with the masses and careless about their welfare.

The religious motive is the strongest we have. We can get our social reforms better through the Christian church than through any other agency. Other agencies do not furnish the moral earnestness requisite for effecting reforms, nor do they furnish a center of unity around which the social group can cluster, and act in unison.

The first task of the church is to find the great Christian ideal, and then win others to it. The church should not regard the labor issue as its leading one. Its first duty always is, to seek the spiritual regeneration of men. This alone prepares the way for the effectual presentation of the social gospel.

The nations have discovered that war is destructive and wasteful. They are seeking to abolish it. Economic war is likewise destructive and wasteful. The time has come to banish all such strife. Brotherhood should be practiced. The church has the solution for our economic problems. May she earnestly seek her task and accomplish it in her Divine Founder's Name.

The old Hebrew prophets predicted many physical comforts as features of the Messianic age. The fir tree is to take the place of the thorn, and the desert is to become a garden of roses. The lion and the lamb shall enjoy a pleasant comradeship, and children shall be safe from the sting of venomous reptiles. The Messiah has come, and along with his kingdom of spiritual salvation he is seeking to lead us into the higher stages of physical well being.

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BIBLICAL RESEARCH

DOES MATTHEW XXVII CONTAIN AN INTERPOLATION?

A CONSIDERABLE problem is presented by a short passage in the Matthaean account of the happenings at the moment of the death of Jesus. After stating that the veil of the temple was rent in two from top to bottom, that an earthquake occurred, that the rocks were rent and that the tombs were laid open, the narrative goes on as follows:

and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised; and coming forth out of the tomb after his resurrection they entered into

the holy city and appeared unto many. Matt. 27. 52b-53 (Amer. Rev. Version).

Questions arise in connection with this passage. Are these events some of the things which the centurion and his fellow watchers saw and which aroused their fear? Thus, did they see raised bodies, whether remaining inside the opened tombs or emerging therefrom?

The text printed by the American Revisers gives no indication by punctuation or other means whether "after his resurrection" belongs with "coming forth" or "entered." This is perhaps a reflection from the Greek original where it seems indeterminable whether μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν belongs with the participle preceding or the verb following. In the one case, we would have the implication that the resurrected persons remained within the tombs until after His resurrection—that is, for a period of, say, thirty-six hours—or that they came out at once but did not enter Jerusalem for a period of like duration.

Apparently, then, we are shut up to the conclusion that risen persons waited outside the city for a very considerable period.

What was the further history of these people? Nothing is here said, nor is there a suggestion of any additional information elsewhere in the New Testament. Did they resume their former course of life, as was doubtless the case with the son of the widow of Nain and with Lazarus? We are told that they "*appeared* to many," not that they resumed an interrupted life. This distinguishes them apparently from the other cases mentioned. Are we then to think of them as returning to the tombs? Or, did some other event intervene?

Then the rising in advance of Jesus creates other difficulties. Some will think of 1 Cor. 15. 23: "Christ the first-fruits; then they that are Christ's, at his coming."

Perhaps all matters may be satisfactorily explained. However, there is evidence tending to show that Apologetics does not need to embarrass itself with the responsibility of making answer.

That is to say, there are indications which make it clear that verses 52b-53 may very well be an interpolation.

Still, it must be admitted, there are also considerations tending to bind the passage to the general text.

In the first place, there is apparently no very ancient witness to the text of this region which omits the passage. If it is really an interpolation, the addition to the text must have been made at a very early date. Origen was aware of the passage; it was in the Old Syriac; and Tatian gives it in his *Diatessaron* (52. 9, 10). We thus get back, say, to 180 A. D.

Then there are considerations which relate to the language. Thus, "the holy city" is not a common designation of Jerusalem. The Matthaean writer uses the term in the narrative part of the Temptation (Matt. 4. 5). But others probably used the same form of words, as is indicated by Rev. 11. 2; 21. 2, (10?). The transition from bodies to persons, indicated by the gender of ἐξελθόντες, is not unexampled in Matthew. In Matt. 14. 12, we have οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἦραν τὸ πτῶμα καὶ ἔθαψαν

αὐτόν —his disciples took up the *body* and buried *him*. The aorist tenses of the verbs are in harmony with the preceding string of aorists. The form οἱ κεκοιμημένοι ἅγιοι occurs, it is true, nowhere else in the New Testament or the LXX. Nevertheless, the employment of the term *saints* and the use of *fall asleep* as a synonym of *die* are good Old Testament usages. These expresions are not at all unsuited to the point of view of a writer looking back over a period of a few years.

In short, the passage contains at least one marked indication of agreement with the Matthaean usage in the expression "the holy city." And, there are other, though less important, marks of conformity.

Nevertheless, we have in ἔγερσις and ἐμφανίζω words not to be found elsewhere in Matthew.

ἔγερσις

In the First Gospel, there is another occasion on which a noun signifying *resurrection* is used. But the word employed is ἀνάστασις (Matt. 22, 23, 28, 30, 31). In fact, this occurrence of ἔγερσις, in Matt. 27. 53, is the only one in the entire New Testament, despite the fact that there are numerous occasions where a word signifying *resurrection* is employed. There are in all, say forty-three or forty-four such occasions, but in every one except this another word is used—ἐξανάστασις once, in Phil. 3. 11, and ἀνάστασις about forty-two times.

ἐμφανίζω

The verb used in verse 53 to signify *appear* is ἐμφανίζω. It occurs elsewhere in the New Testament just nine times (in John, Acts, and Hebrews). This is the only instance in Matthew. Moreover, there are elsewhere in this Gospel at least eleven occasions where a verb or an equivalent meaning *to appear* is required. Once the need is met by ὄπτομαι (17. 3) and ten times by φαίνομαι (1. 20; 2. 7, 13, 19; 6. 16, 18; 13. 26; 23. 27, 28; 24. 30).

πολλὰ σώματα

When πολλοί is, in Matthew, conjoined with a single noun, it is usual that the noun precedes (4. 25; 7. 22; 8. 1, 16, 30; 13. 2, 58; 15. 30, 30; 19. 2, 22; 27. 55). There are one or two instances of the contrary usage (10. 31; 24. 11).[1] The expression πολλὰ σώματα is, accordingly, an indication of moderate force that the passage is non-Matthaean.

In view of the foregoing, it is quite permissible, though not necessary, to regard the twenty-four Greek words of Matt. 27. 52b-53 as an interpolation.

Confirmatory of this is the fact that the text reads quite smoothly over the break when this passage is removed, and that the context is

[1] With two nouns we have πολλοί in advance (9. 10; 13. 17). See a pre-positive πολλούς bracketed and in the margin, Westcott and Hort, 8. 18. On the other hand, at 14. 24 the text gives an additional instance of a post-positive πολλούς.

satisfied without its presence. Thus, the centurion and those with him saw not only the earthquake, but also the things that were transpiring—τὰ γινόμενα. This plural is satisfied by the rending of the rocks and the laying open of the tombs.

That the twenty-four words are an interpolation can not be conclusively proved. At the same time, to the proposition that they were really added to the First Gospel at some time later than the composition in or translation into Greek a considerable degree of probability attaches, thus making the proposition a highly tenable one.

New York City. F. SPRINGER.

BOOK NOTICES

BOOK BULLETIN

SHALL I "buy a book a week"? That depends on the book. A novel can often be read in a day and a volume of essays in less than a week. But a scientific treatise, a philosophical work or a book on theology may take a fortnight or a month. . . . But we ought to keep buying and reading books. One of the greatest joys of life is to purchase a book when you can not afford it and sneak it home so that your wife can't see it. . . . Reading ought to be a balanced ration, with some specialization toward the professional needs of the reader. . . . A bit of poetry every day, an occasional work of fiction, plenty of biography, history and travel—and then your specialty. . . . Spend a little more time with the Bible than with the daily newspapers—it is more up to date. . . . Let's not confine ourselves to current literature, but give the classics their proper predominance. Shakespeare might well be read through once a year. . . . Yet we must read present-day books and keep in touch with the *Zeit-Geist*. Fortunately we do not have to read all of them. "Of making books there is no end" and many of them are worthless. Nor need we master all the worth-while literature. It is quite sufficient to get the best of it. . . . The preacher need not always wait for a book to be noticed in the METHODIST REVIEW to buy and read it. We can not always keep up with the procession. . . . For example there is Beckwith's *Idea of God*, just published. If the preacher has (as he should) such books as Pringle-Pattison's *The Idea of God*, Hocking's *Meaning of God in Human Experience*, or Clarke's *Christian Doctrine of God*, he will still find this work fresh in vision and pulsing with life. It is religious as well as philosophical and full of stuff to inspire the sermon. . . . Another *magnum opus* is William Adams Brown's *The Church in America*, a statesmanlike portrayal of American Protestantism which to-day occupies the forefront in the Army of God. . . . Less democratic, occasionally rather pessimistic, are the *Outspoken Essays* of that "gloomy dean," W. R. Inge. A bitter tonic but good for the slowly convalescing world. . . . Every church should have a library of handbooks for its various organizations and for Christian workers. On these shelves should be placed all the series of the Abingdon Religious Educa-

tion Texts. Not only church classes both on Sundays and weekdays should use them, but many individuals should take a thorough course in Religious Education. . . . One of the best of these is Paul Hutchinson's *The Spread of Christianity*. . . . Would you read some noble English and perhaps the best book yet written about the Great War? Then get and read C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment*, a sad vision of the disillusionment that has followed the spasmodic idealism of 1914. We see the soldier at his best and the political leaders at their worst in overtopping beauty of style. . . . As "a Methodist preacher ought to know everything" (Adam Clarke), he ought to have some understanding of the Einstein theory of Relativity. Slosson's *Easy Lessons in Einstein* is amusing, easy to read and understand, but rather flippant and superficial. A better popular treatise is Norman's *Einstein and the Universe*, translated from the French, an interpretation free from difficult mathematics, well written, and not too technical. . . . Now please read the following book notices and there will be found others, either to read or to let alone. These reviews will advise you.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS. Octavo. Volume XII. Suffering-Zwingli. Pp. xxiv + 876. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $8.

IT is impossible to refer to this set of twelve volumes except in terms of enthusiastic praise and heartfelt gratitude. From the appearance of the first volume in 1908, when the world was at peace, and during the troubled years of the war, down to last year, when the final volume was published, the indefatigable editor has unflinchingly held on to his tremendous task. It is without doubt the greatest offering of international scholarship toward a knowledge of religion and ethics—the greatest themes that could engage the serious reflection of the mind and heart of man.

Several scholars who were associated with Doctor Hastings in the projection of this undertaking have passed away, but he has remained at the helm and his influence pervades the whole. While he himself has written little, the work alone of editing has been considerable. In the preface to the twelfth volume he writes with engaging modesty: "Many scholars have aided with their contributions and with their counsel. I cannot name them. But I must say one thing. The *Encyclopaedia* would not have been what it is if I had not had in every department of study covered by it at least one man upon whom I could rely for advice." The effort to conceive such a comprehensive work, to select subjects and writers, to observe the law of proportion—this of itself was herculean in nature. The fact that Doctor Hastings associated competent men with him by no means depreciates but rather enhances the unusual abilities of his leadership and guidance, which calls forth our unreserved admiration and grateful appreciation.

It would be an easy matter to make a catena of eulogistic testimonies from men in every department of learning to the high qualities

of the *Encyclopaedia*. This is superfluous, since it stands on its own merits, and those who have used it the most, as the volumes appeared, are the keenest in testifying to the indispensable worth of this opulent review of the thoughts and experiences of men at their best. It is not a museum of academic lore, but a storehouse of the world's noblest and richest scholarship. In its pages are to be found what well-informed students and thinkers desire to know for a deeper understanding of the travails and triumphs of the human mind and spirit in the highest fields of aspiration and achievement.

What is of the greatest significance is that the articles (in many instances they are treatises) are written with lucidity and authority by those most conversant in their respective branches of knowledge. Breadth of view is thus combined with generous impartiality and both are fused by a scientific spirit. We may at times question the length of certain articles and conclude that a disproportionate amount of space has been given them in comparison with others which deserved fuller treatment. However, in considering the work as a whole, we must acknowledge that the editor's wisdom is justified by the results. Those who desire further study have the needed guidance in the excellent bibliographies, which are always full and discerning and could satisfy the most exacting tastes.

The appearance of such a work is furthermore a conclusive demonstration of the profound interest in religion in all its expressions. When we are seeking for newer formulations of the Christian faith, which shall do justice to its intrinsic message and adequately meet the needs of our own day, this *Encyclopædia* offers suggestions of untold value. Indeed, much of the theology and apologetics of the coming years will receive their direction from these volumes, where we learn that, in spite of divergent forms, the one faith has persisted and triumphed.

No pleasure would be greater than to point out the merits of one article after another, and the light they give on questions of the greatest moment. I am, however, thinking of the busy preacher, who could not make a better investment than to order this set from the publishers. Their excellent arrangement of payment by instalments reflects on their patience with purchasers, and their desire to place the volumes within the reach of those who need them the most and are the least able to pay in a lump sum.

The last volume contains 241 articles by 167 authors. What a large faculty and how impressive when it is remembered that they are all well qualified. The names of seventeen women on the staff is a healthy sign that in the republic of scholarship the traditional distinctions of sex, as well as of nationality, receive no recognition. The article on Utilitarianism is by the accomplished daughter of the distinguished editor. Her discerning treatment of this subject is marked by keen criticism, historical and constructive, and the article maintains the high standard of excellence which distinguishes the best writers for these volumes. The judicial summary is worth quoting: "Utilitarianism as an ethical theory is weak, but as a principle of political action it is not without its working value." There are nine articles on suicide, from

which can be learned that utilitarianism is most nearly favorable to this practice, and that while it is common in Japan, due doubtless to the survival of the warrior institution of *harakiri*, it is almost unknown in Mohammedan lands because of the spirit of *Islam*, which is one of fatalistic resignation to the will of God.

The first article on Suffering, by Professor Kilpatrick, recalls his articles on Salvation and on Soteriology in the eleventh volume and other theologico-ethical discussions in previous volumes, all written from the high standpoint of Christian experience. The series on Sun, Moon, and Stars deals with astrology and astronomy, tracing the development of thought on these questions. The series on Symbolism help toward Scripture interpretation; and in connection with it should be read the article on Typology. The one on Syrian Christians will be read with deep interest in view of troubles in the Near East. That on Sunday is concerned with the historical growth of this institution and the problem of its present observance. Very luminous are the articles on Teleology and Theism; they are nothing short of treatises. By their side should be placed one on Theology, which is not quite as long but packed full of incisive thought and contending that an adequate theology should reckon not only with the Bible, but with the data furnished by the world of nature, the course of history, and the moral consciousness of mankind. The interested student of theology in its larger aspects should also turn to the articles on Synergism, Theocracy, Theodicy, Thomism, Tradition, Transcendentalism, Therapeutae, Theurgy, Trinity, Tritheism, Universalism, Unitarianism, Valentinianism, Voluntaryism.

As illustrating the wide range of topics on various aspects of comparative religion only a partial list of topics could be given without any description of the articles on Sufis, Tammuz, Tantrism, Taoism, Teutonic Religion, Theosophy, Tibet, Tlingit, Totemism, Upanisads, Vedanta, Vedic Religion, Yoga, Zionism, Zoroastrianism. On ethical questions the following deserve mention: Sympathy, Tabu, Temperament, Temperance, Toleration, Validity, Value, Wealth, Welfare, Will. In view of Einstein's theory of relativity, the article on Time is very suggestive. As throwing light on international ethics and law, the article on Treaties is timely; no less so is one on War. That on Virgin Birth clearly discusses the issues involved, and the author casts his vote in favor of the accepted belief of the church. There are series of articles on Transmigration, Usury, Vows, War-Gods, Water-Gods. The nine on Worship are of particular importance to Protestantism which should restudy this subject and evolve such methods as shall more efficiently further this central art of religion.

The space is more than exhausted, but one is loth to leave these sumptuous volumes without reiterating deepest gratitude to the editor and his colleagues. After the index volume is published there should be a supplementary volume containing dissertations on subjects which have been more fully investigated since 1908. Since this set appeals to all thoughtful and earnest seekers after Truth, it should be placed in every library in the land.

[Since the above notice was written the eminent editor passed away on October 15. Dr. James Hastings, more than any other person, has done much to enrich the work of preachers, convinced that the world is to be redeemed and established according to the preaching of Jesus Christ. He himself was one of the greatest preachers of the day, as those who heard him testify. But he will be best remembered as one of the foremost helpers of preachers of any generation. He made a place for himself early in life. While pastor of a small country church in Kinneff, Scotland, he started The Expository Times, thirty-four years ago. From its first issue it was welcomed as one of the best guides to preachers. The work by which he has earned notable distinction began, however, in 1898, with the issue of the Dictionary of the Bible in five volumes. This was followed by the one volume *Dictionary of the Bible* for more popular reading. Then there came in rapid succession, baffling one with their extraordinary riches, *The Great Texts of the Bible*, twenty volumes; *The Greater Men and Women of the Bible*, six volumes; *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, two volumes; *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, two volumes; *The Children's Great Texts of the Bible*, six volumes; *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer; The Christian Doctrine of Faith; The Christian Doctrine of Peace*, in press. While these books were being prepared, Doctor Hastings also launched his greatest undertaking, the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, the twelfth and last volume appearing early in 1922. The fact that Doctor Hastings was able to accomplish such a prodigious amount of work was a testimony not only to his indefatigable industry but also to his great character as an editor, distinguished by gentleness and patience. He was thus able to work in a quiet, calm spirit, and enlist the co-operation of the leading scholars of the world, and edit their contributions with unrivaled learning, catholic sympathy, and discerning judgment. He always maintained the highest standards of scholarly accuracy, and in none of his volumes are there any marks of hurried or slipshod work, not even in the days of the war, when the task was encompassed with so many inevitable difficulties. Doctor Hastings has left the Christian Church of every denomination a precious legacy. When the influences that have made for better preaching in this generation are appraised, a large place will be given to this consecrated and courageous minister of the Lord Jesus Christ.] OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Theologie des Alten Testaments, kritisch und vergleicend dargestellt. By Eduard König, Th.D., Professor in the University of Bonn. Pp. viii + 348. Chr. Belsersche Buchhandlung, Stuttgart, 1922.

IT would probably be generally agreed that there is no more learned Old Testament scholar living than Professor Eduard König. There may be others more profound, more brilliant, more original, and perhaps more trustworthy in their conclusions; but for sheer massing of facts, for detailed acquaintance with the literature of his field, and for literary productivity I know no one equal to him. He is now seventy-six years of age, and throughout virtually his whole career has been active with

his pen. His literary output has been prodigious, covering practically all phases of Old Testament study; and he is still apparently as busy as ever.[1] He keeps in touch with the latest phases of Old Testament study, and nowhere will one find the most recent contributions to Old Testament scholarship so faithfully taken account of as in his books and essays.

His *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, completed about a year ago, represents, so he tells us, "the kernel and star" of his life-work. In it are embodied the most significant conclusions to which his life-study has brought him. These conclusions naturally do not differ from those previously expressed, but they are put in a compact, systematic, and comprehensive form, summing up his earlier work and thus giving to the present volume a final and distinctive character. A few years ago there was a project on foot among some American scholars to translate into English König's large work, entitled *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion*. What has become of this project I do not know, but if one of his more important works is to be put into English—and this, it seems to me, ought to be done—I should suggest that it be his *Theologie* rather than his *Geschichte*. The former is only a little more than half the size of the latter, and presents its material in a form that would more satisfactorily meet the needs of the American and English student.

The *Theologie des Alten Testaments* is divided into two main parts, the first dealing with the origin and history of what the author calls the "legitimate" or "true" religion of Israel and the second with the development of its individual factors or leading ideas. The first part is distinguished by the stress laid on the patriarchal age. With König it is apparently a matter of prime importance to maintain the essential historicity of the patriarchal narratives. Not long since (February, 1921) he had an article in the London Expositor on "The Burning Problem of the Hour in Old Testament Religious History," in which he dealt with this question; and in his interesting article in the METHODIST REVIEW (July-August, 1922) on "The Ideal of Historical Writing and Israel's Relation to It" he discussed essentially the same subject from a somewhat different point of view, summing up the main historical arguments in favor of his position. But however important this question may seem to him, it is difficult to arouse any special interest in it on the part of Old Testament scholars in general. To them it seems clear that the picture of the pre-Mosaic age presented in the patriarchal narratives has been so idealized that one cannot regard it as history in the strict sense of the term. Hence it seems best in textbooks on the religious history of Israel to begin with the Mosaic age. Whether and to what extent there may be historical elements in Gen. 12-50, is not a question that seriously affects any vital article of faith, nor is one's view of the later religious history of Israel necessarily affected to any marked degree by it.

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[1] Just now there comes to my desk an essay of seventy-one pages that he has written on Sexuelle und verwandte modernste Bibeldeutungen, and by the time this notice is printed another book of special interest will have appeared from his pen entitled *Die Messianische Weissagung des Alten Testaments vergleichend geschichtlich und exegetisch behandelt.*

When it comes to the prophets, König (pp. 68ff.) seems primarily concerned to show that their psychological experience was altogether unique, entirely different from that of the diviner and false prophets. The latter had visions (*chaza*), but only the true prophets really "saw" (*ra'a*) what was objectively existent. König credits himself with being the first to establish this distinction between the two Hebrew words, *chaza* and *ra'a*. But whether the distinction can be carried through the Old Testament seems to me very doubtful. Independently of this question, however, it is no doubt true that the canonical prophets had some way of distinguishing their own personal convictions from the divine messages which they received (see Jer. 42. 7). Just how this was done we do not know. In his recent book, entitled *Visions of the End*, A. C. Welch, the distinguished Old Testament scholar of New College, Edinburgh, says: "As I find nothing in our modern religious life which is precisely analogous, there is nothing with which we can compare the prophetic inspiration" (p. 42). With this I agree, and König is no doubt justified in insisting on a unique element in the psychological experience of the ancient prophets, but whether the prophetic vision was really objective in the sense that he contends, is open to serious question. And in any case it seems to me to be a mistaken apologetic to lay the stress on this point. The significant thing about the prophets was the content of their message and not the way it was mediated. It is by their fruits, rather than by the psychological roots of their experience, that we must judge them. Indeed, the unique element in their psychological experience must be an inference from the unique character of their teaching rather than the reverse.

In meeting the various "naturalistic" explanations of the origin and history of Israel's religion König has rendered an important service. He has also done much in the way of correcting the more radical conclusions of that type of criticism commonly associated with the name of Wellhausen. I find myself in hearty accord with his conception of what is frequently spoken of as the "preprophetic" religion. The eighth-century prophets were not innovators, they were reformers. They do not represent a sharp break with their past, but are rather its consummate flower. In the course of the book Professor König has done me the honor of referring not infrequently to my *Religious Teaching of the Old Testament*. About two thirds of these references are in the way of approval and the other third in the way of disapproval. This ratio represents about the extent to which I agree with him on controverted questions. In his argument for the strict historicity of the patriarchal narratives and in his efforts to maintain the uniformly high character of Israel's "true" religion, there is, it seems to me, not a little of special pleading. For instance, the distinction he draws between the "formal" and the "material" conceptions of "the image of God" seems to me quite foreign to the Biblical text (pp. 235, 255). His attempt likewise to show that the Old Testament nowhere represents God as the cause of moral evil strikes me as rather forced (pp. 238ff.). His rejection also of any direct connection between the Hebrew traditions in Gen. 1-11 and

the corresponding Babylonian traditions impresses me as having probability against it. But while an excessive conservatism thus manifests itself here and there, the general tenor of the book is to be heartily commended. Its spirit is scientific, it reveals great learning, and its reaction against some of the conclusions dogmatically assumed by not a few Old Testament critics is to a considerable extent justified. A "critical" dogmatism is to be avoided quite as much as a "traditional" dogmatism. Those who share in this feeling and in the reaction against the more advanced Biblical criticism will welcome this book as perhaps the ablest exposition of their standpoint. But altogether apart from this the book contains a storehouse of valuable information and argumentation that will abundantly repay careful study on the part of all who are interested in the religious teaching of the Old Testament.

ALBERT C. KNUDSON.

The Essentials of Christianity. By HENRY C. SHELDON, D.D. Pp. xii + 314. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2, net.

COMPARATIVE religion, apologetics, Christian doctrine, and ethics—all are concisely, clearly and simply presented in this book. Those whose minds have wrestled with that great body of divinity Professor Sheldon's *System of Christian Doctrine* will warmly welcome this far easier treatment. Of course it is preeminently a handbook for laymen, but the minister will find inspiration and information in these vividly written pages. While it is a popular treatise on theology, avoiding technical phraseology, it is rich in the ripe results of scholarship. Controversial questions are not avoided, such as premillennialism, spiritism, the Virgin birth, evolution, Biblical criticism, etc. It is sanely orthodox, but presents Christian truth in the forms of modern thought. The book culminates in the conception of the preeminence, universality, and finality of Christianity. It is a religion that fits every age, keeps pace with human progress, and is final because of its growing vitality.

THE NEW TESTAMENT

New Testament History. By G. W. WADE, D.D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. Price, $7.

The Approach to the New Testament. By JAMES MOFFATT, D.D., D.Litt. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $3.

The New Testament Study. By ERNEST FINDLAY SCOTT, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.

The Contents of the New Testament. By HAVEN MCCLURE. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.25.

THE New Testament is not merely a book of the past but one that pulses with life, enshrining as it does the highest spiritual possessions of the race and bearing testimony to the sublimest religious realities valid for all time. It moreover witnesses to the opulent versatility of

Christianity, which has captivated and controlled divers types of mind, temperament, and experience in a harmonious confession of indebtedness to Christ and of hearty devotion to him. All the more necessary then that the New Testament should be received with a reverence devoid of sentimentalism, with a resolution purged of prepossessions, with a faith that fearlessly questions, with an assurance ready to accept the new interpretations and applications, convinced that these impressively enhance the essential and eternal heart of the gospel.

What, then, has critical scholarship contributed toward a better knowledge of the New Testament? The answer is well stated in these three volumes. Wade covers the entire realm of New Testament learning and discusses nearly every question raised by historical, linguistic, and theological study. He follows a judicial *via media* and is neither trammeled by the limitations of conservatism nor obsessed by the looseness of radicalism. In this respect, his book is a welcome reply to some of the extreme conclusions stated in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, edited by Jackson and Lake. It is, moreover, more acceptable since his scholarship is of a high and meritorious character. It is verily an encyclopædic survey. Part I gives a description of the topography of Palestine, of the political, religious, and institutional development among the Jews, and of conditions in the Roman Empire. Part II is an ample discussion of the relevant issues raised by textual and documentary criticism, and a detailed examination of the New Testament books as to authorship and contents. Part III welds together the several sources into a consecutive narrative of the ministry of Jesus and of the church in the Apostolic Age, and concludes with a lucid chapter on the theological development in the New Testament. This last is particularly good as it sets in a full context the continuity and unity of New Testament thought, so as to make clear the coherent, consistent, and permanent message of redeeming love in Jesus Christ.

The two volumes by Professors Moffatt and Scott supplement each other. They furnish an accurate and discerning report of the enriching labors of scholars, to give a sense of the reality and vitality of the New Testament, which appeals to us by reason of its intrinsic excellence. It is furthermore the most democratic book as to origin and contents. Its several writings were called forth by immediate and exigent needs. The controversial note is additional evidence that in the early church there were differences of opinion, which were not met by dogmatic declarations but by dynamic expositions of the central verities, in keeping with the divers modes of thought.

Professor Scott reminds us that, "the primitive church admitted of endless differences," and that its atmosphere was one of liberty, such as the church has never since enjoyed (p. 40). In taking note of the time element in New Testament teaching, we should remember that Christianity did not grow up in a cloister but was thrown from the first into the full current of the world. "The new religion found its converts among philosophers of all schools, votaries of all religions, moralists, social reformers, rich and poor." In the process of development, it assimilated

pagan elements, but this interaction only tended to preserve the distinctive character of Christianity. It was thus increasingly acknowledged as the only religion which "expresses in their purity, and with a clear consciousness of their value and meaning, those elements in human thought, which can properly be called religious" (p. 75). The conflict between Christianity and the religions of the first century is being repeated to-day on the mission field. *The Mind of the Early Converts* by Campbell G. Moody is worth reading, for it throws light not only on the struggles of the first Christian centuries, but also suggests much for our guidance in presenting the superior claims of Christianity.

The interested student should consult two other books by Professor Scott. They are *The Apologetic of the New Testament*, and, *The Beginnings of the Church*. His latest volume is a convincing estimate of the value of the New Testament as the most living book. The titles of the four chapters are: "The Right of the New Testament," "The Modern Interpretation," "The New Testament as a Product of its Time," "The New Testament in the Modern World." He removes many mistaken ideas as to the function of criticism and points out that the larger service of the New Testament depends on our acceptance of the decisions of modern scholarship. His argument becomes an appeal as he discusses the causes of the modern eclipse of religion. He gives it as his conviction that the new setting given the New Testament is compelling people to reckon with it as a literature that is never tired or eccentric or affected, but which speaks the truth as no other writings have done.

It is this rediscovery of the New Testament which has brought us such assurance. Professor Moffatt discusses it with special reference to historical criticism. This method of study is both negative and positive. If we have lost some things we have gained more. When we strike a balance it is to find that the New Testament has a stronger hold on the modern mind and that it alone contributes the spirit in which our most pressing problems are to be met, the vital principles that must dominate the relation of man to God and man to man (p. 212). Dr. Moffatt is right in stating that "it contains a spiritual and social message which this preoccupied century had better try to master before it approaches anything else" (p. 10). These Hibbert Lectures set the New Testament in its right perspective, discriminate between the kernel and the husk, relate the New Testament to the Old Testament which preceded it, to the Christian Church which produced it, to contemporary life and literature which influenced it and was influenced by it, and to the later centuries which reckoned with it.

Wherever the New Testament has had a fair chance, religion has been purified and vitalized. These writings were not regarded by the early church as intended for the esoteric few, after the fashion of the mystery cults. "It was not the New Testament which encouraged the rise of sacerdotalism and clericalism in the early church. The moment these began to appear, their advocates generally appeal to the Old Testament" (p. 109). This reference must not be regarded as a disparagement of the earlier writings. Such a course was one of weakness, as

Doctor Moffatt sets forth in the chapters on "The Old Testament in the New" and "The New Testament in the Christian Church." The services of Erasmus receive honorable mention. The influence of the Renaissance and Romantic movements is well discussed. Just as Erasmus rolled away the stone which made possible the resurrection and revival of religion in the Reformation, so his scholarly successors, although misunderstood and discredited, have given the impetus to New Testament study, which is helping to regenerate Christianity and to demonstrate that the only hope of the world lies in its redemptive message.

The opening chapter of Doctor Moffatt's book on "First Impressions of the New Testament," is a careful survey of its unrivaled contents. The second chapter on "The Origin and Meaning of the Name" shows how the New Testament came into being. The third and fourth chapters have already been mentioned. The remaining chapters give specific attention to the historical method—its principles, its task, objections to it, and its limitations. "Few things have hindered the truth so much as the uncritical disposition to take documents as equally valid, without discriminating between them or between different strata in their contents" (p. 184). In a previous lecture Doctor Moffatt points out that the eccentric and arbitrary uses of the New Testament by Second Adventists, Plymouth Brethren, Christian Scientists have been due to just such unhistorical methods.

The volume by McClure is the outcome of many years of teaching the New Testament, as an elective English course, in a public high school. The standpoint is critical, and, while certain of his conclusions need reconsideration, the work is generally well done and the notable religious values of the New Testament are fully appreciated.

Professor Moffatt wisely remarks that one of the weaknesses of the historical method is the tendency to destroy a feeling for absolute values. Herein some have erred, forgetting that the historical method, like the scientific, can only answer the question how but not the why. For this we must turn to the fields of philosophy, psychology, and theology. The signs are favorable that rich discoveries await those who would work here, to unfold in its unique splendor the spiritual message which alone can make us "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

Dynamis: Formen und Kräfte des Amerikanischen Protestantismus. von Adolph Keller. Pp. viii+166, 8vo. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

A SYMPATHETIC and wonderfully accurate bird's-eye view of the Protestant bodies in the United States, their roots in the old world, their development, polity, characteristics, etc., in the new world, the societies that have grown out of them, and their problems. The author is a Züricher, who made some visits to this country, investigated matters on the spot and writes with intelligence as with largeness and penetration of view. It is a splendid orientation piece for German readers. P. 5: there was a census of the church attitude of our folk before 1915, as can

be learned from the Letter of Transmittal of the Director of Census in his Census Bulletin, No. 103, Religious Bodies, Washington, 1909, p. 5—in fact, several such attempts. P. 37: for 1704 read 1741. P. 39: transpose words Maurice and Denison; and Maurice should not be entered with Keble and Pusey under the Oxford Revival. P. 44: for Guthin read Guthrie. P. 47: for We free read Wee Frees (does the author understand the Scotch word wee?). P. 78: John Murray did not organize any Unitarian society, but in 1770 preached the first Universalist sermon in America. An excellent statement of the new social attitudes and tasks of the American Church is given. There are references to books and an index. The title comes from the fact that the author thinks that the distinguishing characteristic of American Protestant Christianity is power or force. We wish it were truer than it appears to our friendly Swiss interpreter.

J. H. F.

Working with the Working Woman. By CORNELIA STRATTON PARKER. Pp. xxi+246. New York and London: Harper & Brothers.

SHORTLY before the World War I was walking through one of the northern quarters of Berlin with the pastor of the state church in that neighborhood. Pointing to some new factory buildings of the AEG (the German "General Electric") he said with great sadness: "These are going to ruin my church." Every city in the United States has seen churches ruined by the invasion of factory workers and the retreat of its members to other sections of the city. There is no sadder sight than that of churches forced to withdraw from the battle line and, by admitting their inability to influence factory workers and foreigners, to confess themselves defeated. Churches are losing ground in industrial centers, especially where aliens predominate: why? This is one of the crucial questions for Protestantism in America. The refusal of the industrial masses to accept the Christian message means either that they cannot or that they will not listen to the preachers of the gospel. Is the gospel unsuitable to them or are they unfit for the gospel? We refuse to assent to the first supposition, for the gospel is still "the power of God unto salvation; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." Nor is the other possibility acceptable, for "it is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Granted that multitudes "as they go on their way they are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruits unto perfection;" but the weeds are not confined to immigrants; granted the ignorance and superstition of many of them: still the fact remains that the seed has brought too little fruit. The church must squarely face the issue and honestly ask itself whether it was an Anglo-Saxon form of the gospel which it tried to preach to the Latins and the Slavs, and whether its failure was partly due to a lack of understanding of those it sought to bring within its fold.

It is a fact that "half of the world does not know how the other half lives." The average city pastor is a gentleman of refined habits who feels more at home in the home of the captain of industry than in the human

beehives of Little Italy or the Ghetto. It is very difficult for him to come into close contact with the foreigner, who will seldom reveal his real self to a person of another class, especially a minister. The only way to know something about the psychology of the factory workers is to do what Mrs. Parker has done: to work in a factory side by side with girls of all nationalities, becoming one of them, gaining their affection and confidence through sincere friendship. The greatest Christian missionary did this very thing, *mutatis mutandis* (1 Cor. 9. 19–23), and summed up his experience with the words: "I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some." If the city pastors could come into close contact with the industrial workers by obtaining jobs in factories and laboring among them without any suspicion on their part that they were being investigated, they could gain at first hand knowledge of their mentality, without which it would be idle to even attempt to convert them. Practical difficulties will probably prevent most city pastors from doing this. To them and to all those who are interested in labor not as an economic question, but as a human problem, the book of Mrs. Parker will furnish fascinating reading and food for thought.

The author obtained jobs in six different industrial plants: a chocolate factory, brassworks, a laundry, a dress factory, a bleachery, and a hotel. In each case she describes the place, her particular task and her fellow workers. The best parts of the book are the sketches of the workers, their interests, their character, their wishes and troubles. Religion seems to occupy a negligible place in their thoughts, with the possible exception of some Irish Catholics and of the girls of the sixth floor of the laundry, "a very religious lot" (p. 104). However, many of the good souls were not far from the Kingdom of God. "The six industrial experiments in this book have made me feel that the heart of the world is even warmer than I had thought—folk high and low are indeed readier to love than to hate, to help than to hinder" (p. 242). If this be true, the hearts are not unprepared for the simple gospel of Jesus Christ, even though the dogmas of our various denominations bring scarcely any response. What the church needs is men who not only preach and live the Sermon on the Mount and 1 Cor. 13, but also become "all things to all men."

"But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion for them, because they were distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd. Then said he unto his disciples, The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

Harvard University. Robert H. Pfeiffer.

The Lion and the Lamb. A Drama of the Apocalypse. By Thomas Osborn. Pp. 264. The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.75.

The solution here given to the problem of interpretation of the Book of Revelation is one that accords with the greater number of modern scholars, and is also that which gives the book the highest spiritual values.

Like all prophetic writings, the Apocalypse of John is a message to his own age and inspired by current history. The tragic trials of the early church as it faced the persecution growing out of emperor worship called for this "tract for hard times." And the symbolism of apocalyptic language, familiar to religious readers of that period, was employed in a highly dramatic form for its expression. While even a literal interpretation of the book will not sustain Premillenarian theories, a truly literary insight into its meaning must put an end to these dangerous survivals of Jewish Christianity.

In some unimportant details, Dr. Osborn has slightly varied from the prevalent modern views. For example, he uses Adam Clarke's explanation of the Number of the Beast—the Latin kingdom. Far more probable is the Hebrew *Neron Kesar*, or the Greek *Kaiser theos*, the former of which makes 666, and the latter 616, an ancient various reading of the text. He also does not call attention to the origin of apocalyptic symbolism in the primitive Creation-Chaos stories of Babylonian cosmogony. "No more sea" implies the ending of the chaos home of beasts and dragons, types of the rebellion against God.

One high value belongs to this book. It is in a simply eloquent form, understandable by all readers, and it suggests the best and most convincing method for the pulpit presentation of the problem. It should be widely circulated as an admirable antidote to the crass literalism which is destroying the religious worth of the Book of God by making it a collection of curious puzzles.

FAITH AND FICTION

The Backsliders. By William Lindsey. Pp. 363. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.

The Fog. By William Dudley Pelley. Pp. 500. New York: Little, Brown & Co. $2.

Judith of the Godless Valley. By Honore Willsie. Pp. 354. New York: George H. Doran Co. $2.

In Naaman's House. By Marian MacLean Finney. Pp. 295. New York and Cincinnati. The Abingdon Press. $1.75.

The Tramping Methodist. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. Pp. 278. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.

Why is there so little religion in the novel? Is faith so feeble in the life of to-day, that prose fiction, which is the chief literary interpretation of the present age, can ignore it? Perhaps it is because pious lives, like warless nations, are uneventful in their history and therefore less interesting to be read about than stories of sinners. Some horrid hypocrites *are* pictured in the novels of to-day—and the Church does contain such characters, for counterfeits are always issued on the best banks—but the saintly souls, whose names are in the prayers of the poor, and the saving salt of whose lives keeps society from rotting, have little place in current literature.

Here are a few pieces of fiction with a touch of religion in them.

In *The Backslider* is portrayed a Methodist preacher, well educated and deeply devout, whose Puritanical narrowness makes him too severe in excommunicating recreant members of his church. A woman artist living next door, who is a lovely pagan, wins his affection, the result being that the Puritan gives piety to the Pagan and she helps to humanize his austerity. The author does not know Methodism in its polity, or he would not make so just a pastor exclude members without a trial, nor would he call members of its officiary deacons and elders. This inaccuracy is common in novels to-day.

The Fog is a quite brilliant story of a boy abused and hampered by a hypocritical Methodist father, who at last by an intense moral urge (probably implanted by the Junior League, although the author does not say so), achieves a noble manhood, is married to a lovely and modest maiden and secures final success. It is a fine novel, but its religion is too much of a rather soiled side line.

According to the blurb on its jacket, Mrs. Willsie's last story is a picture of "the West as it really is." Which is rather surprising, for none of us were aware that it is a common thing in the "wild and woolly West" to find isolated communities, the third generation from Yankeedom, who still read the best literature, including Emerson, quote Omar Khayyam, and yet have become utterly Godless, so that they mob the minister and practice much dishonesty and licentiousness. It was very fortunate for this Lost Valley that its young hero, Douglas Spencer, led by some inheritance of the old faith, fights to bring in a preacher, wins in marriage his lovely foster sister Judith, and starts the decadent community on the upward path. Some of it is hard to believe, but it is a stirring story nevertheless, with a healthy outcome.

In Naaman's House is a colorful Biblical romance good for religious reading as well as for fictional entertainment.

From a literary standpoint the best of all these books is *The Tramping Methodist*. Miss Kaye-Smith must be given first place among the woman novelists of our time. It is a dramatic picture of English rural life just after the death of John Wesley. These heroic Methodists have their faults of temperament, but they redeem it all by purity of life and courageous self-sacrifice. It is a passionate love story, but the flaming passion is white with holiness and softened by tenderness. A tragic tale of the constant martyrdom of a vagabond Methodist preacher, counted as "the filth and offscouring of the world," whose weaknesses are armed with salvation—it is full of that "pity and terror" which Aristotle said purifies the heart.

So it seems that fiction and faith can come together in creative imagination wherever religion does not walk in silver slippers the conventional highways of society, but where with bleeding feet it treads the narrow paths of suffering and sacrifice. Perhaps religion is so real that it cannot easily be put in a fictitious setting.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Japan's Pacific Policy. By K. K. Kawakami. Pp. xiv + 380 (Dutton). There are Japanese eyes that see straight. This author is able to interpret the East and the West to each other in a fairly straightforward sort of way. Probably he criticizes China more sharply than he does Japan. In the Appendix can be found practically all the important documents of the Washington Conference on Japan, China, and the Pacific.

Nights and Days on the Gypsy Trail. By Irving Brown. Pp. xvi + 267 (Harpers, $2). Are you a Borrovian? Do you read and reread *Lavengro* and *Romany Rye?* Here is a brilliant series of adventures among this picturesque race, specializing the Spanish gypsy, and nowhere does this proud and reckless people play a larger rôle in the life of the land than in that one time land of the Moors, still half Oriental, where romance lingers. Mr. Brown is quite as revealing as George Borrow and probably more veracious.

Mountain Scenes from the Bible. By William Robert Polhamus, S.T.D. Pp. 349 (Revell, $2, net). Here scriptural geography is highly spiritualized and we are led to soul heights as well as to physical altitudes. We are guided to twenty-six hills—mountains of sacrifice, victory, law, glory, decision, revelation, vision, peace, holiness, song, temptation, prayer, crosses, etc. We are helped by this imaginative and passionate preacher to feel the mountain breezes, to glory in their sunlight and behold their wide horizons. Hilltops are close to the heavens and these sermons make all heights a Holy Land.

Shadows on the Wall. By F. W. Boreham. Pp. 238 (The Abingdon Press, $1.75). The homily, the essay and the story come together in these scintillating and suggestive papers. Shadows! Yes, but every shadow is wrought by substance and sunshine. Shadows may terrify, confuse, and cause illusion, but back of them is reality. "And the Reality? There is but one! . . . The Reality is Christ! " And the man who recognizes that reality will see loveliness in the shadow-show.

Hill-top Views. By Liston H. Pearce. Pp. 110 (The Methodist Book Concern, 75 cents, net). "Dr. Pearce is at home on the heights." And he invites us up, plays guide, lends us his field glasses, which are his own illumined vision. In his beautiful old age, in his sanitarium experience, he is still climbing! Possibly most glowing of all is his picture of "The Grand Canyon of Arizona."

Putnam's Ready Speech Maker. By Edwin Hamlin Carr. Pp. xiii + 283 (Putnams, $1.75). What to say and how to say it—that is the purpose of this work. Many intelligent people are called upon for public addresses. Here is a handbook for home training—education in both the mechanics and the substance of speaking. Excellent practice outlines are given. The etiquette of the platform, the matter of attention, the psychology of public speech are treated concisely and helpfully. The

book concludes with interesting materials such as anecdotes, quotations, poetry, etc.

When God and Man Meet. By WILLIAM J. YOUNG. Pp. 275 (Doran, $1.50, net). We need to fill life with God. Worship is the central function of religion and the supreme act of life. All service gets its inspiration and power from religious services. These five lectures on "the supreme hours of the Supreme Guest of the soul" form a fine treatise on Christian worship. Even to many excellent people communion with God has become but an empty form. Doctor Young's book will greatly help in giving reality to both public and private devotion.

The Modern Theory of the Bible. By SAMUEL A. STEEL. (Revell, $1.25, net.) This vigorous bit of controversy from the obscurantist point of view is an illustration of the rationalistic character of super-orthodoxy. To compel the Bible to conform to *a priori* theories of verbal inspiration, to insist that a man must not believe in Evolution to be a Christian—what are such benighted views but placing religion on an intellectual rather than a moral and spiritual basis? Surely there are folks who believe the world to be flat and some that thought it round that got to heaven. The most dangerous rationalism of to-day is that which places obstacles in the way of educated folks accepting Jesus Christ as their Saviour. And this book does it.

Facing the Crisis. By SHERWOOD EDDY. Pp. xii + 241 (Doran, $1.50, net). The author of *Everybody's World* here discusses everybody's problems. He begins with a clear statement of religious truths in modern terms. Few better practical puttings of Christian doctrine can be found than in Part I of this book. Part II applies these truths squarely to the social and industrial issues of the present age. The world-crisis can be faced and met "*by following Jesus' way of life.*" If such a work as this could be made a real program for the Church of Christ, the woeful wreckage of today would become a splendid salvage.

John Ruskin, Preacher, and Other Essays. By LEWIS H. CHRISMAN (The Abingdon Press, $1.25). In a sense each generation must be nourished by its own literature, but it cannot afford to neglect the rich heritage. Much is lost in perspective and depth if we ignore the writers of a former day and treat them with the conventional respect of honoring their names but disregarding their ideas. In his recent rectorial address on *Courage,* Sir J. M. Barrie said with quiet irony, "Don't forget to speak scornfully of the Victorian age; there will be time for meekness when you try to better it." Doctor Chrisman is deeply appreciative of the writers of that age, and these fine essays help us to share his discerning appreciation. He has a literary conscience and develops his themes with mastery and lucidity, in an attractive style and with apt quotations from the writings of Ruskin, Arnold, Whittier, Carlyle, Lowell, Thoreau, and others. His interpretations show real insight, and richly deserve the attention of all lovers of good literature.

The New World of Islam. By LOTHROP STODDARD (Scribners, $3).

The revival of Islam has precipitated a serious struggle between the forces of liberalism and reaction. In view of the inevitable tendency toward the *status quo* and the mandatory prohibition against making any change even in the letter of the Koran, it is, however, very doubtful that there would be a "new world of Islam." This able survey of Islamic activities does not take into account the vitalizing influences of Christianity in Mohammedan lands, although there is considerable reference to the impact of Western civilization on the Near and Middle East. No one who would understand the problems of the awakened and turbulent Orient and the dangers that threaten the peace of the world should overlook this important study of modern Islam and Hinduism.

Reasonable Religion. By GEORGE JACKSON, B.A., D.D. (Pilgrim Press, $2.25). These brief papers touch on a variety of timely themes, concerning which clear thinking is greatly needed. Under the general divisions of Preaching the Bible and the Faith, Worship, The Sunday School, A Group of Famous Scots, Doctor Jackson writes informally and directly, and suggests how the critical issues before Protestantism should be faced and solved. Few recent books cover the ground so thoroughly and practically. Courageous, considerate, and convincing, this book of lucid arguments and forceful conclusions should be widely read by preachers and laity.

The Soul of an Immigrant. By CONSTANTINE M. PANUNZIO (Macmillan, $2). The inner struggles and outward difficulties of the average immigrant have at last found literary expression in this stirring recital of an Italian, who served the trying apprenticeship to which many are destined, and from which few survive, before they attain the dignity of American citizenship. While some things are inevitable, the unscrupulous exploitation to which the unwary are subjected should surely cease. This volume will do much to enlighten and educate American public opinion and help solve the problem of efficient Americanization.

The Victory of God. By Rev. JAMES REID, M.A. (Doran, $2). Those who lament that preaching has fallen on evil days should read this volume of serene and searching sermons on the crucial issues of the inner life. The central theme is the adventure of faith, which turns eclipse into light, and travels through the mist and mirage to the oases of spiritual refreshment, under the leadership of the sufficient and satisfying Christ. We must first get our bearings as individuals before we could tackle the social difficulties that press heavy upon us. These sermons point the right way, and we do well to follow it.

Student's History of the Hebrews. By LAURA A. KNOTT (The Abingdon Press, $2). It was recently remarked that the pulpit reads one Bible and the pew another. Such a perilous difference must be removed. This scholarly and accurate history will help to do this, wherever it is studied in our Sunday schools and colleges, under the guidance of teachers competent to interpret the spiritual message of the Old Testament. Twenty maps and charts and sixty illustrations, many of the latter being photographs taken by Professor Peritz, increase the value of the lucid text.

A FIRST GLANCE AT NEW BOOKS

[The more important of these books may be fully reviewed in the future.]

New Tasks for Old Churches. By ROGER W. BABSON. Revell. Price, $1, net.

Americans by Choice. By JOHN PALMER GAVIT. Harpers. Price, $2.50, net. A valuable contribution toward solving the perplexing problem of Americanization.

Jesus an Economic Mediator. By JAMES E. DANBY. Revell. Price, $1, net.

The Strategy of the Devotional Life. By LYNN HAROLD HOUGH. Revell. Price, 75 cents, net. Can the City of Man become the City of God? Yes, and this eloquent book shows how.

The Great Evangelistic Opportunity. By JOHN WALTON. The John C. Winston Co. Price, 75 cents. A layman's program for the noblest of human tasks.

The Message of Buddhism. By SUBHADRA BHIKKHU. E. P. Dutton & Co. Price, $1,25. A statement of Buddhist doctrine and ethics from the Buddhist standpoint. Probably a faithful presentation with a somewhat favorable coloring for western minds and therefore valuable for information.

African Adventures. By JEAN COMPTON MACKENZIE. Doran. A well written revelation of the child mind of Africa.

The Italians in America. By PHILIP M. ROSE. Doran. Price, $1, net. A useful racial study from the religious standpoint.

Stories and Poems for Public Addresses. By A. BERNARD WEBBER. Doran. Price, $1.50, net. Fairly good crutches for lame speakers.

Stories for Special Days in the Sunday School. By MARGARET W. EGGLESTON. Price, $1.25, net.

That Ye May Believe. By DAVID KEPPEL. The Methodist Book Concern. Price, 60 cents, net. The purpose of the Fourth Gospel stated with real insight.

Christus Comprobator. By C. J. ELLICOTT. Nashville: Lamar & Barton. Price, $1.25. A reprint of seven lectures by a distinguished scholar of yesterday. He tried to save the Bible from modern scholarship, but the latter has given us a better Bible.

Methodism, Its History, Teaching and Government. By GEORGE STANLEY FRAZER. Lamar & Barton. Price, 75 cents. A well-stated and much-condensed picture of the essentials of Methodism.

Everyday Lessons in Religion. I. The Bow in the Cloud. Price, 65 cents. II. The Star in the East. Price, 60 cents. Teacher's Manual. Price, $1.25. By CLARA BELLE BAKER. The Abingdon Press. Two books for children and one for the teacher. Nothing better for week-day religious training in primary grades.

J. W. Thinks Black. By JAY S. STOWELL. The Methodist Book Concern. Price, $1. A second volume in the John Wesley, Jr., series. Necessary for Epworth Leagues.

The Little Child and His Crayon. By JESSIE ELEANOR MOORE. A valuable monograph on children's drawings for teachers in the church school.

A First Book in Hymns and Worship. By EDITH LOVELL THOMAS. Price, $1.25, net.

Songs for the Little Child. By CLARA BELLE BAKER and CAROLINE KOHLSAAT. Price, $1, net. The Abingdon Press. Two books that will highly help to rescue childhood from the present perversions of the sacred art of music.

Churches of the New Testament. By GEORGE W. MCDANIEL. Doran. Price, $1.75. A fairly catholic view of early ecclesiasticism.

The Life of Lives. By LOUISE MORGAN SILL. Doran. Price, $1.50, net. A simple, yet vivid, life of Jesus for the young.

Dramatized Missionary Stories. By MARY M. RUSSELL. Doran. Price, $1, net.

Sermons on Biblical Characters. By CHRIS G. CHEPPELL. The sort of sermons to draw, delight, and develop lives.

Happiness and Good Will. By J. W. MACMILLAN. Doran. Price, $1.35. Excellent popular essays of Christian sociology.

Sermons for Days We Observe, By FREDERICK F. SHANNON. Doran. Price, $1.50. Vital, vivid, virile messages in lovely language and with spiritual power.

Graded Bible Stories. Books I, II, III, and IV. By WILLIAM JAMES MUTCH. Doran. Price, $1.25 each. The Bible is the supreme source book for religious training. These four volumes are excellent help for grades one to eight.

A READING COURSE

Redemption From This World; or, The Supernatural in Christianity. By A. G. HOGG, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.75.

THE church has undergone many changes, but it still remains the Providential agency for Christian redemption. Its message has been modified and enriched by contact with science and philosophy, but while many of these systems have become obsolete, the truth of Christianity survives with increased capacity to control the whole of life. Theories and interpretations which at one time held sway now lie on the shelves of the antiquarian and are of value only as literary monuments of a former day. The "Synthetic Philosophy" of Spencer, the Positivism of Comte, the Materialism of Haeckel, are out of date. The same may be said of theological systems, with this proviso, that conceptions of truth change, but truth itself abides as a perennial challenge to the best thought of each successive generation.

Those who decry "dogma" have a confused notion that it refers to certain beliefs which they have rejected. But dogma of some sort we must have. Instead of denouncing it, on the plea of liberty, the better course is to formulate one's own belief in such fashion that it would find expression in a coherent system, even though at best it may be temporary. "Argument, generally speaking, in religion, can do no more than clear

the track; it cannot make the engine move." For that we need energy. In like manner, after our arguments have cleared the atmosphere, we then have to recken with the unique fact of spiritual life as mediated in Jesus Christ our Lord.

It is a healthy sign that the modern scientist is modest. He has discovered such an unlimited range of powers in the world of nature that he has ceased to regard it as a closed system, and he is aware that it would be an unwarranted assumption to set restrictions. It is equally fatuous for the scientific expert to pass judgment on matters outside his own province. The biologist who speaks with authority on his chosen theme is lacking in good judgment when he presumes to exercise jurisdiction over other fields of knowledge. The practice of quoting distinguished scientists in support of conclusions in philosophy or theology is only an intellectual evasion. Science is verified knowledge, but there is much more awaiting investigation and discovery. The theologian should also be modest. In upholding dogma he should guard against being dogmatic, and not speak with an air of finality, which is surely not the same thing as the note of certainty.

There is in reality only one order in the universe. We distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, not to set one over against the other, or to institute any contrast between the two, but for the convenience of reasoning. Nature, as generally understood or rather misunderstood, has to do with purely physical phenomena, but there is a great deal more. Read *The System of Animate Nature*, by Professor J. Arthur Thomson, for an impressive conception of the vast complexity and versatility of life. The immanence of God is the truth of his perpetual presence in the immediate present. The divine omnipresence is the presence of God here and now. On the other hand, the transcendence of God is the truth of the divine infinitude that does not contravene the known laws of the universe, but completes them. The Deistic view held to a fixed order of nature and thought of God as outside his universe, and, if he entered it, he did so as an invader to upset the established constitution of things. The theistic view finds proofs of the divine presence not only in extraordinary events, but also in daily occurrences.

> "Earth's crammed with heaven
> And every common bush afire with God."

"What distinguishes the Christian is his consciousness not of the Fatherliness merely, but of the Fatherhood, of a transcendent God. . . . The transcendent in him is ever-seeking to become immanent. The supernatural in his resources is always ready, as 'miracle,' to enter the natural and become of one texture with it." These words from Professor Hogg's volume on *Christ's Message of the Kingdom* (p. 149), are the thesis which he has developed with surprising acumen and spiritual insight in his later volume. The whole question of the supernatural is lifted out of the limited realm of the physical into the potential realm of the spiritual, and we are brought to see that, "in the supernatural we come face to face with God as a transcendent, spontaneous and personal will"

(p. 209). The supernatural is thus shown to be "fundamentally sane and philosophically intelligible." Since creation is a continuous process, any limits we set to the self-manifestations of God are a virtual acknowledgment that our ignorance should be the standard of the divine activities. Since this is not a static universe, governed by rules established on a basis of mechanical causation, but a dynamic universe of consistent and maturing progress, miracle, far from being a deviation, is a fuller declaration of the divine process. It is "the response of nature's God to the uniquely personal need of the self-surrendered soul" (p. 169).

Nature admits of new elements in harmony with the divine purpose. The methods of God vary, but not so his aim. A denial of uniformity in nature therefore carries with it the affirmation of an underlying unity. If we say that miracles are a breach of nature, we imply that the material is superior to the moral and spiritual. Miracle is rather a "breach of a barrier within the natural order," of what might be called an enclave within that order, the limitations of which are due to intellectual conditions and in part also to moral and spiritual faults. If the barrier contemplated was created by distrust, then it could be dissolved by faith (p. 136ff). It is sin that has caused a break in God's world, producing an abnormal situation, and a miracle which evinces the hand of God might well be regarded as one of the normal ways of the Heavenly Father.

Jesus Christ is the sublimest illustration of the attitude of a faith which has released cosmic agencies into redemptive activity. His gift is "not primarily a fresh reading of long familiar fact, but access to a new plane of experience." Here the supernatural is known as a power of redemption from bondage to the manysided tyranny of an evil world order. We are thus released *from* the world that we might more effectually serve God *in* the world. In this experience the mystical and the ethical are harmoniously united. The miraculous was part of the very warp and woof of the life of Jesus. He was in such unison with the divine will that his miracles were manifestations of spiritual energy which controlled and transformed physical disabilities. They were not regarded by him as primarily credentials of his mission, but opportunities for beneficence not to evince faith in the fickle, but to confirm the expectations of the faithful. The uniqueness of Jesus lay in the wholeness of his life which made a complete response to God, unlike our fractional and adulterated life. Read what is said about the character of Jesus on p. 65ff. Note also the searching remarks about faith being efficacious in a sympathetic atmosphere, and that the right sort of faith gives God greater freedom to act redemptively or supernaturally (p. 72f., 217).

What then is the conclusion? It is not by new methods or improved machinery that the world's redemption is to be accomplished, but by a discovery of the unfathomed possibilities of God in Christ, both for the individual and for society. The supernatural, which is the spiritual at its highest, should then be the abiding note of the church. This might seem like an extravagant claim, but a careful study of Professor Hogg's

contentions would convince even the skeptical. If we believe that all the resources of our Father's empire of reality must needs be at our call for the legitimate requirements of our errand, we would understand the significance of the words of Jesus, that those who believe on him shall do even greater works than he did in the power of the Divine Spirit (John 14. 12). Herein is the difference between John the Baptist and those who live in "the last days" (p. 46ff.).

The faith of Jesus was nourished by prolonged seasons of prayer. What is here written on this subject is one of the most stimulating portions of a bracing book. Ponder carefully the discussion of the New Testament ideal of prayer, and note the criticism of that qualifying phrase, "If it be thy will," which so frequently acts like a damper to persistent faith (p. 266ff.). The call to the church is to achieve the impossible because as sons of God we are recipients of a supernatural gift. In a recent article Dr. Jowett forcibly set forth this issue. "Let the Church of Christ," he wrote, "bravely begin to realize these larger ranges of her influence. Much of her weakness springs from her ignorance of her power. Let her consult her title deeds, let her explore the wealth of her resources and in bold and loyal venture let her openly work for the Lord's will to be done on earth even as it is done in heaven." Professor Hogg's volume is therefore most timely. It commands the attention of all who would understand the complete sovereignty of God over the course of time, and appreciate the urgent task imposed on the church in these critical days of transition.

It is necessary to distinguish between the passion of Christianity and the pessimism of apocalyptic. Those Christians whose faith is shaken by evils and disasters have yet to learn and experience the genius of New Testament optimism which "beholds redemption puissantly at work." The weakness of apocalyptic thought was due to its half-heartedness because of a failure to reason through. The view was thus maintained that since God is omnipotent and righteous and since the world has come to a pass which he should not tolerate, redemption must be achieved, "not through an immanent, historical process, but through an impending irruption of the Creator's transcendent might" (p. 18). Such a conclusion substitutes conjecture and vision for the patient reasoning of faith. This subject is treated with suggestive originality in the chapters on "The Time Is Fulfilled" and "The Dawning of 'the Last Days.'" Read them carefully and you will be prepared to meet the fantastic arguments of pre-millennialists, whose illogical premises and unhistorical assertions tend to disrupt faith in the redeeming might of God. These interpreters of Scripture are crude materialists, who hold that miracles are interventions, but who fail to distinguish between the actual facts and their own conjectural understanding of them.

The titles of the other chapters of this arresting book are: "Supernatural Because Redemptive," "Supernatural and Natural," "The Miraculous as the Preternatural," "On the King's Business." Mr. Edwyn Bevan recently observed that "it is in the field of philosophy that the intellectual issues between Christianity and its opponents are to-day really centered"

(*Hellenism and Christianity*, p. 257). No question is more vital than that of the supernatural, and nowhere is it discussed on such a high plane of keen thought and spiritual passion as in Professor Hogg's volume. Those who give it the intense study it demands will be able to heed the author's clarion call to "a fearless life of fellowship with Christ in ever fresh adventures of faith."

SIDE READING

Christ's Message of the Kingdom. By A. G. Hogg (Scribners). The central thought in these Bible studies has to do with Christ's teaching on the power of faith and of believing prayer. The mind and experience of the Master are unfolded with an astonishing wealth of spiritual penetration, which cannot fail to stimulate us to go forth and become more than conquerors through Him that loved us.

The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus. By J. A. Robertson (Pilgrim Press). This book points out the profound significance of the filial consciousness and divine vocation of Jesus, which found the climax in the vicarious sacrifice of the cross. It is an exceptionally thorough discussion of the interrelated aspects of the inner experience of Jesus, in the light of an idealistic psychology which stresses the supreme worth of spiritual realities and encourages us to exercise faith *in* Christ in order that we may possess the faith *of* Christ, to the glory of God the Father.

For further information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the METHODIST REVIEW, 150 Fifth Ave., New York. L. JOSEPH.

THE METHODIST REVIEW FOR 1923

THE tercentenary of the death of William Shakespeare, 1616-1916, received little attention on account of the Great War. 1923, however, is the three hundredth anniversary of the publication of the *First Folio*, the first collective edition of his writings. As April is the month, both of his birth and death, the METHODIST REVIEW for March-April, 1923, will present certain studies of Shakespeare. It will also contain an article by Dr. Hugo Gressman, dean of the theological faculty of the University of Berlin, Germany, on "New Paths in the Scientific Study of Old Testament Literature."

A portion of the May-June issue will be devoted to phases of the life and work of John Wesley. During the year there will appear several articles on General Conference questions, such as Amusements, the Episcopacy, Unification, etc. Probably other new and very interesting features will be introduced.

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WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

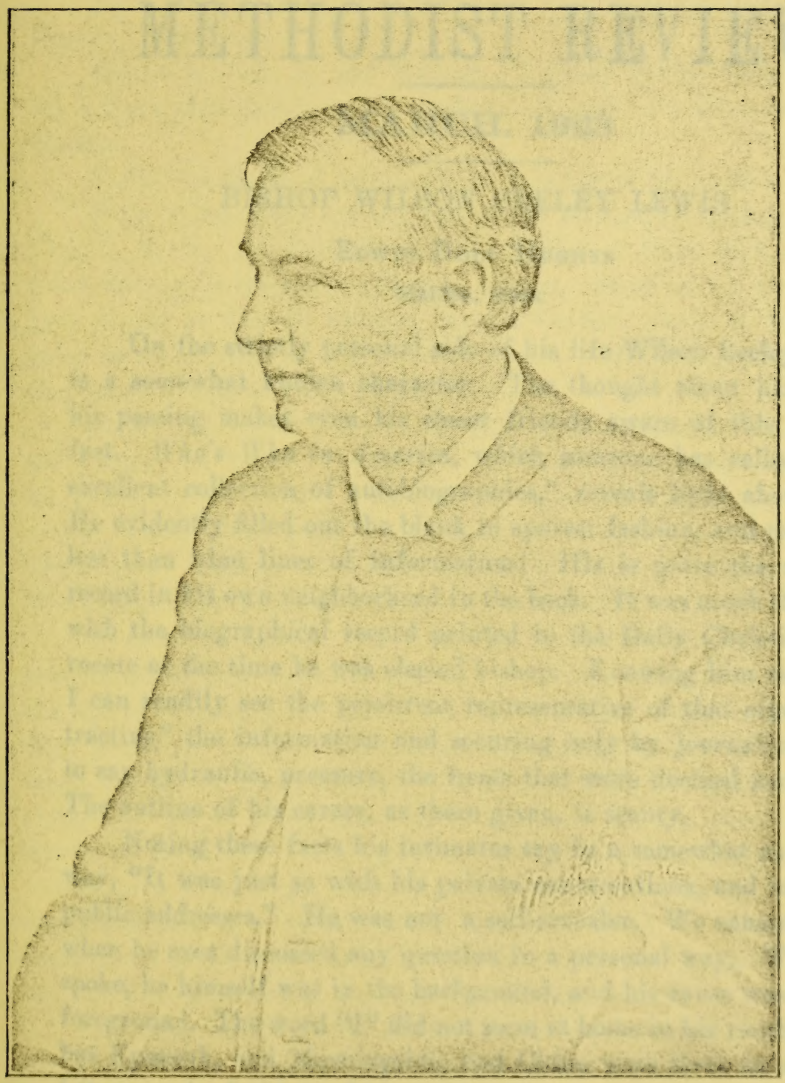
Bishop EDWIN H. HUGHES, D.D., LL.D., is well known to our readers and all the religious world. Bishop WILLIAM F. OLDHAM, born in Bangalore, India, and called to Christian work under the influence of Bishop Thoburn, is now in charge of the South American Area and resident at Buenos Aires, Argentina, South America.

The LAYMAN, who furnishes us an analysis of Some Relations between Secular and Religious Thinking, is a Baptist, and a professor in a Southern college.

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, D.D., Th.D., well known to all our readers as preacher, writer, and educator, is at present pastor of the Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich. RALPH TYLER FLEWELLING, Ph.D., is at the head of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Southern California. His article fits the Easter season. Rev. ROBERT E. FAIRBAIRN is pastor of the Canadian Methodist Church in Saint Johns, Newfoundland.

CALEB T. WINCHESTER, L.H.D., for fifty years professor of English Literature in Wesleyan University, died March 24, 1920. His address on "Shakespeare the Man" was delivered on the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's death in 1916. PHILIP L. FRICK, D.D., is pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Schenectady, N. Y. DAVIS WASGATT CLARK, D.D., is editor of the International Literary Bureau, Boston, Mass. Rev. HARRY PRESSFIELD is pastor of Fruitvale Methodist Church, Oakland, Cal.

Doctor HUGO GRESSMANN, who contributes our Biblical Research Department, is dean of the Theological Faculty of Berlin University, Germany.



WILSON SEELEY LEWIS

METHODIST REVIEW

MARCH, 1923

BISHOP WILSON SEELEY LEWIS

EDWIN HOLT HUGHES

Malden, Mass.

ON the strictly personal side of his life Wilson Seeley Lewis is a somewhat hidden character. The thought about him since his passing makes even his closer friends aware of this strange fact. *Who's Who in America,* which someone has called "that excellent collection of autobiographies," reveals little about him. He evidently filled out the blank in sparest fashion, and there are less than nine lines of information! His is quite the shortest record in his own neighborhood in the book. It was much the same with the biographical record printed in the Daily Christian Advocate at the time he was elected bishop. Knowing him as I did, I can readily see the persistent representative of that organ "extracting" the information and securing only by journalistic, not to say hydraulic, pressure, the items that were deemed necessary. The outline of his career, as there given, is scanty.

Noting these facts his intimates say in a somewhat surprised way, "It was just so with his private conversations, and with his public addresses." He was not a self-revealer. We cannot recall when he ever discussed any question in a personal way. When he spoke, he himself was in the background, and his cause was in the foreground. The word "I" did not seem at home in his vocabulary; but Epworth, and Morningside, and China were there in shining letters. As I think of him, this fact more and more impresses me. In a glorious way, he was concealed by his enterprises. He never said so, but his record puts the phrase into his soul, "I must decrease; my cause must increase."

Here are the biographical items as I have gathered them in fragments from several sources:

Born July 17, 1857, on a farm near Russell, Saint Lawrence County, New York.

Son of William H. and Hannah (Turner) Lewis; Welsh on his father's side, Dutch on his mother's—a child of a fairly large family.

Passed his boyhood on the farm, working at his rural tasks.

Went to the public schools, and finally entered an academy at Canton, N. Y. Studied likewise for a time at Saint Lawrence University, a Universalist college at Canton. Received his Bachelor's degree at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, in 1889, prior to which time he was for three years, 1882–1885, superintendent of schools at Belle Plaine, Iowa.

Joined the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1885. Pastor at Blairstown, Iowa, 1884–1887. In Europe 1887–1888. Principal of Epworth Seminary, Epworth, Iowa, 1888–1897. President of Morningside College, 1897–1908. Bishop Methodist Episcopal Church, 1908–1921. Went into God's nearer presence, August 24, 1921.

So runs the record. All along the days of its making some persons could give facts of interest; but concerning those facts the lips of Wilson Seeley Lewis are scarcely more sealed in death than they were in life. He was an immense advertiser of God's work, but not of God's worker! He always made his labor large enough so that he could stand in its shadow. He has sometimes reminded me of that artist—glorified by Drummond's description—who on a bitter night while his workmanship in clay was still damp and plastic, wrapped his own garments about the wondrous labor of his hands that it might not be broken by the fingers of ice, but was himself found at morn as a martyr by its side.

One says that he worked his way to and through college "with much sacrifice." I never heard him give a hint of that. One who was there says, truly of course, that he came to a spiritual crisis at a revival meeting while he was teaching at Belle Plaine, Iowa, in 1884, and that there the fountains of the great deep in his nature were opened, and that he offered up a prayer of such mighty

and prevailing passion that the school and the town were moved toward God. I never heard Bishop Lewis mention that experience. His friends have told me of the days and nights that he spent in prayer, and of how he scattered Jabbok experiences, longer than that of wrestling Jacob, by the streams of his own life. He himself never spoke to me of any of his lengthened seasons of waiting on God. Yet we sat side by side for thirteen years in every bishops' meeting held when he was in America; and we talked in closest confidence of the Lord's work! In deeper personal affairs he was a master of silence.

Yet there stands the record: Epworth Seminary, lifted from despair to hope, and taken from approaching death to larger life —and this in a period when the high schools were almost everywhere supplanting academies! It is no wonder that his work in that Iowa village made certain men believe that he might do something with another piece of educational hopelessness. In 1897 he was prevailed upon to accept the presidency of Morningside College, at Sioux City, Iowa. Chaplain McCabe, while he was at the American University, once said that he "was the Chancellor of a Dream." Morningside was scarcely a dream when Doctor Lewis gave it a place in his wakeful life; but because for eleven years it became his "dream," it became likewise an increasing reality in the service of a city, a State, a church.

Only one who has struggled with a college under severe limitations can at all appreciate what President Lewis accomplished at Morningside. When he came, its equipment was a vacancy, its endowment a deficit, its asset a mortgage, its scholastic standing and repute a doubtful prophecy! Beginning with one hundred students, he ended his work with five hundred. Beginning with property of negative value, he ended with over half a million. But this story of the outer life is not even a good symbol of what was accomplished more deeply. He gave the college a soul, a soul like unto his own. His life was built into its intellectual and spiritual foundations and walls. Few colleges in America answer so fully to that figure of speech which declares that "an institution is usually the lengthened shadow of some one man." Any person with open eyes and open heart cannot now spend a day at Morning-

side without meeting the spirit of President Lewis. The buildings are "haunted" by him, in the only sense worth while! I found long afterward that he saw in advance what the educational foundations later emphasized, namely, that a nearby city made a great field for a college. He went to Morningside partly because he believed in the strategic location of Sioux City as offering both an urban and a rural field for an institution. In truth this prophetic strain in him was always strong. He saw the day before it came to a calendar, because he saw clearly the inevitable working of certain tendencies that were almost laws.

Without question in the eleven years at Sioux City President Lewis did an amazing work. He caught the vision and he made it reality. Those who were near at hand knew that walls were rising all the time, but "the sound of the hammer" was not heard afar. Wilson Seeley Lewis came to the General Conference of 1908 a comparatively unknown man in the general church. His two pieces of educational statesmanship had given him much esteem in upper Iowa, while his Morningside work compelled the attention of the State. He had never before been a member of a General Conference. But his friends insisted that he should be considered for the episcopacy. They, headed by the late Senator J. P. Dolliver and O. P. Miller, and by Doctors J. B. Trimble and Robert Smylie, were assured and enthusiastic in their personal estimates, and they lifted him up to the view of the church. In those preelection discussions, which are inevitable and useful in so large a church as ours, it became evident that the name of Doctor Lewis would be found on many ballots.

He did nought at Baltimore to make himself better known. There was no quieter member of the body. He made no speeches; he did not even "move the previous question." Indeed, he rarely entered into public debates. In the bishops' meetings and in the General Committees his voice was not often heard. The most of his service was rendered in the silent but important backgrounds. His accomplishments never came like the rush of a torrent but rather like the sweep of the tide. The constituency of Morningside College found that under the administration of this serious and seemingly timid man, the institution was lifted and

lifted and lifted. The voting for him had that quality. The delegates studied the Iowa certificates of his service and their response came steadily. On the fifteenth ballot he was elected as bishop. The wisdom of that election stands to-day utterly unquestioned in the whole church.

But there came a time in the voting process when he himself was much bewildered. As ballot after ballot proceeded without result, he wondered if the hesitancy of the delegates did not represent a real doubt as to the divine will. Only the forceful insistence of his friends prevented the withdrawal of his name, and this when his vote had mounted well nigh to the two-thirds figure. Some will still remember the eager group that gathered about him and made him leave to the General Conference the decision, unaffected by his modest judgment of himself. They rendered the work of God a vast service on that day. Several big interests of Methodism would now be incalculably poorer if Wilson Seeley Lewis had not come into our episcopacy.

The secrets of this man's power may be measurably found at three points, though this arithmetical putting of the estimate would not exclude other items of personal strength. The effort now is to show his outstanding characteristics.

He was a man of *wisdom*. He had this quality, even in its superficial phase. He was not himself aware of his own remarkable shrewdness; and many who knew him slightly would never glimpse this faculty which was wholly hidden by his outward appearance. He was not a schemer, but he was an estimater! More than once his friends saw some man, "wise in his own conceits," depart from a conversation with the idea that Bishop Lewis did not understand! But they knew surely that behind the bland and innocent expression on his face there was an insight like a moral and intellectual X-Ray! His judgments of men were not often verbally expressed, but they were piercingly accurate.

The wisdom was far deeper than this. He read faces, but he likewise read events. He read men's minds, but he also read the world's movements. At Morningside he saw what the situation *and the future* called for; and to that he devoted himself. Whether in the selection of faculty members, or in the choosing of trustees,

or in the forms of appeal to the public, he was no blunderer! The college was put on foundations of wisdom.

It was just so with China. Perhaps it would not be easy to take the diagnoses of Chinese life and Chinese changes and separate in them the Bashford and the Lewis elements. But, great as Bishop Bashford was, Bishop Lewis was no mere understudy; neither was he an echo. His wonderful partner often confessed his debt to his colleague's quiet judgment, and went so far as to declare that sometimes he received positive "flashes of inspiration" from Bishop Lewis' conversation. His program for China was an educational one; and that program is being yearly justified. There is no part of the planet where the Saviour's figure of the yeast in the meal has more application than in that huge Oriental empire. The quick change from the Manchu monarchy to republicanism was speedy in its final issue, but it was not speedy in its causation. China is not to be won by a convulsion. Bishop Lewis saw that, and his plans were formed about that insight. Yet he was not so narrow as to be only an educator. He was an evangelist as well. At times he was such a fervent "exhorter" that he would bring back the atmosphere of the old-fashioned camp meeting! In one part of the work he was Pauline. He foresaw the part that the cities were to play in the program of God; and he greatly strengthened the work at the populous centers. There is no hazard in declaring that our Christian objectives in China will long remain as Bishop Lewis declared them, he being in this respect of far-sighted wisdom one of the prophets of the Lord.

He was a man of *patience*. It is not too much to say that he was a specialist in the best drudgeries! I have already intimated that he worked in the fine and big backgrounds. My first meeting with him illustrated this. We were to dedicate the church at Rockwell City, Iowa—I to preach and take the public part; he to have charge of the finances. He came to the town three days in advance; had interviews with many persons; met everywhere the assurance that not one half of the eleven thousand dollars needed could possibly be secured, and met it with a dogged courage; and on Sunday morning handed me names and amounts that showed that the debt was already raised—and more! Yet I had difficulty

in making the people understand that the private quest of President Lewis made the success possible. This dedication incident is significant because it was typical of his work. He dreaded a service that was showy or perfunctory. A response, on behalf of the bishops, to words of formal welcome, was for him an affliction. Yet he would take on himself a big task and work it out with a patience as big as the task itself.

Thus, while he was not a dress-parade character, he was an adept in making plans for a campaign and equally adept in holding the advance trenches. He was often tremendous in public address, but he was truly marvelous in his influence on groups of planners. Business men yielded to him, not so much because of his direct asking as because he made them see the wonder of the work. His achievement for Goucher College, in the million-dollar campaign that came prior to the million-dollar epoch, was like a financial miracle. Later he did similar immense things for the Centenary, and for the educational life of China. Let no one think that he went to the Orient jauntily. He remembered no youthful call to China, as did Bashford. In such an hour as he thought not, the Son of Man came to him with a summons. His usual patience was strained, and even vexed! He told me that he was passing through Gethsemane and he besought my prayers. His dear wife counseled him through that struggle; and the church owes her a debt!

Going to China by way of Golgotha Bishop Lewis found there "the joy that was set before him." Is China so vast that it breaks the bodies of the men who would carry its burdens? I know only that its twin apostles, Bashford and Lewis, stooped more and more as they stepped under the increasing load. China became with Wilson Seeley Lewis a glorious obsession. He would not willingly have left her for any place save Heaven! After he put his hand to the plow that was to make deep furrows in Oriental life and so to prepare for limitless harvests, he fulfilled the law of the Kingdom by never turning back. Several times when he would not play a bit because he was "busy," I jokingly called him Atlas! I will allow the nickname to take on seriousness. He really did stand beneath the burden of the biggest part of the world. He worked,

and worked, and worked again. He deserved the rest that God provides for his saints—for a season beneath the heavenly altar; but he would not be at home where there were no large tasks! He would quickly adjust himself to the services of the eternal kingdom. I find myself quite naturally calling to him over the border and saying:

> And doubtless unto thee is given
> A life that bears immortal fruit,
> In such high offices as suit
> The full-grown energies of Heaven.

He was a man of *prayer*. He illustrated that saying of George Adam Smith about the praying of Christ, that with the Master prayer was not the preparation for the battle, but rather the battle itself. This explains why Christ was agitated when he prayed, but calm when he worked. Personally I never knew Bishop Lewis to lift the curtain on his place of private prayer. It remained for many others to detect him in his worthy secrecy. Yet it is surely known that "he advanced on his knees." His family and his friends testify to those long periods of his devotion. He had anticipated great help from a big corporation, when the weight of Morningside was on his heart: and he had a right to his anticipation. But a trip to Chicago convinced him that the hope was not even slender. So he returned to the home of his dear lay friend, went to his room with the request that he be not called, walked the floor in an agony of thought and prayer, and emerged after more than thirty-six hours with the plan that made the future of Morningside. Only his elbows had touched the bed!

Some homes in our country and in China will always keep the sacred tradition of his family prayers. Here he became familiar with God, as a man with his friend, face to face. Here, too, he became familiar with God's children, particularizing them by their names and their needs. One eminent minister has told me that he could never forget the prayer that Bishop Lewis offered in his home, at a time when one of his episcopal colleagues was in peril from an operation. He named his comrade by an abbreviation; told the Heavenly Father how we could not spare him from the work of the Board; and besought the Physician of Heaven

to help those of earth. God answered that prayer, and the colleague still counsels and works with his brethren.

I sometimes think with regret that this prayer life, on its public side, did not get its full chance in an episcopacy that carried him rapidly over the earth. Prayer needs intimacy, with men and with God. In a way it is "pastoral" rather than episcopal. We find ourselves wishing that the reverent effect of Doctor Lewis' prayers at Morningside College could have been brought to the whole church. Students actually went to chapel, "just to hear the president pray." It was thought at one time that his chapel prayers should be taken down by shorthand! It is literally true that the persons appointed to do this became so absorbed in the throbbing prayers that poured from President Lewis' lips that they emerged from the service only to discover that they had forgotten their assignment! Those who are persuaded that the prayer life of our church is the fountain out of which its work life must come will not fail of the human illustration while Wilson Seeley Lewis is remembered.

These are my estimates of this great servant of God. We were "twins" in our election, being chosen into the episcopacy on the same ballot; and our personal address to each other always represented that kinship. In these recent months, since the wires bore me the word of his death, I have often thought of him as in heaven. He belongs nowhere else! In the delirium that preceded his death, his speech consisted, not of wild ravings, but of snatches of prayer. In the lucid times he told his friends that he wanted another journey to China; but God gave him instead a safe and abundant entrance into the upper and better Celestial Empire.

They tell me that when they laid Bishop Bashford's dust in that Delaware, Ohio, grave, Bishop Lewis stood after the people had mostly gone, and that he began to sing, quaveringly, "There's a land that is fairer than day." He was not a singer; but I know that in that sacred hour true melody would have been in his song. He was himself not far from that fair land; and the few who heard him sing his hope, made more touching by the homesickness he felt for his departed colleague, say that it was as if some of the harmony of the country into which Bashford had passed came to

dwell for a moment in his partner's voice. They buried Bishop Lewis' body ere long, clad in a scholar's cap and gown—emblem of his chief work on earth, and emblem, also, of the fact that he had gone into that school-room where he would learn lessons that were not lawful for him here.

I shall not be irreverent if I picture him there. If Celestial demeanor is like that of this country, his gaze would be thrust forward in that inquiring fashion that was his characteristic. Nor shall I withhold a peculiar contrast that has occurred in my thought of him. Milton represents Satan, ere the angel fell, as looking down upon the golden pavements with eyes of greed. But I think that Bishop Lewis would wonder whether he could not get some of the gold down to Morningside or China! I see him greeting his two episcopal classmates who had preceded him—Bishop Smith, who would instruct him in the laws of heaven; and Bishop McIntyre, whose last word on earth was "Lovely," and whose first word in heaven was doubtless the same, would open to him the beauties of jasper and pearl and the eternal light. I can also see Bishop Bashford's smile of welcome and his response with that sturdy quietude that concealed a deep cordiality.

The old theologians often spoke of "plenishing the kingdom of God," and sometimes they applied the phrase to heaven. The Revelator sees the nations bringing their "glory and honor" into the Eternal City. When Wilson Seeley Lewis entered its gates he carried an immense freight of that holy kind. Speaking most reverently, we may well say that he deserved a dwelling place like that described in the Apocalypse. Pearl gates, and jasper walls, and streets of gold are none too good for him. Heaven is God's idea of the casket for such a jewel, God's idea of the setting for the gem of such a soul. We may borrow the figure from Malachi and say that Bishop Lewis was one of God's own in the day, whether here or there, when the Lord of hosts made up his jewels.

Many of us who have known and loved him will ere long pass through the portals; and in the early list of the elect of our own hearts we shall greet Wilson Seeley Lewis as one of the Princes of the Everlasting Kingdom, reigning in the power of the Blessed Lord.

THOBURN—MYSTIC, SEER, PROPHET, MISSIONARY

WILLIAM F. OLDHAM
Buenos Aires, Argentina, South America

HE was of small stature, but great of soul. Frail he seemed and not capable of much physical resistance, but the burning heart within led him to undertake ceaseless labor and he was diligent to a degree. Unlike John Wesley, of whom Samuel Johnson complained that he never would sit down and cross his knees and talk, Bishop Thoburn was fond of conversation and often full of quips and jests. Frequently he would say, when he was being outtalked by anyone, "Now it's my turn," and always in later years his turn was cheerfully yielded him. It will be strange for his old friends to think of that active form and ready voice as stilled on earth. It is true that in these latest years the approach to the vast silence has been perceptible and rapid. But though we heard him not we knew he was there, waited on by hands skillful and loving, and we were content. Now, one who owes much to him cannot think of him but as with youth renewed, amid the great throng, alert, eager, comprehending, and bent on making his contribution to the activities and enlarging thought of that fair land whose shores he has long glimpsed and now treads. One cannot think of him and such as he merely lost in wonder or placid enjoyment. Something there must be to task his understanding and exercise his great soul if his cup of joy is to be full.

In Ohio he was born, that wonderful State where for so many decades the trained East met the adventurous West and produced that fine human amalgam which has given more than its fair quota of leadership to state and church. Methodism has received from Ohio many of her greatest souls, but, perhaps, never a greater than James Mills, the seventh child of Matthew and Jane Lyle Thoburn, who was born in Saint Clairsville, Ohio, March 7, 1836. So highly did he think of his native State that he would playfully say, "I am content in whatever State I am, particularly if it is the State of Ohio." He lost his father when a mere lad, but the mem-

ory of that godly class leader strengthened his heart through the years. But it was his mother, whose combination of rugged faith and a deep mysticism, bordering on superstition, that most profoundly affected the son's whole life. He went, a mere lad, to Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., when Doctor Barker was president. Allegheny College has always been an aggressively religious school, and he could not fail to be there confronted with the question of his personal relation to God. Brought up by praying parents whom he trusted, the religious ardor of his teachers and college mates found ready response in young Thoburn's heart. Under a powerful sermon by Prof. Calvin Kingsley, afterward a bishop, he was profoundly moved and went forward for prayers. Later, leaving college for a time to teach, and while trying to help some of his own students to a clearer knowledge of personal salvation, he himself came into the clear knowledge of conscious pardon and friendship with God. His own words are: "The light came, life became sweet, and the service of Christ was like daily food."

Returning to college, he graduated at the early age of twenty and soon after joined the Pittsburgh Conference. And then came a crisis. The young heart was troubled, the soul ill at ease. And a question presented itself, which in the way it was resolved gave tone and color to all the rest of life. His preaching often seemed to be in vain. No tangible results! Nothing happening! Was he really *called* to preach? He could not go on this way. The matter must be settled and definitely. "One afternoon I went out into the woods near the village and kneeling alone among the branches of a fallen maple tree, I talked the matter over with my Saviour; and there, alone with him, I received my clear and distinct mission to go and preach his gospel to dying men. I heard no words, but the commission could not have been more specific and clear had the visible Son of God said to me, 'Go preach my gospel.' From that hour I could preach with or without results." Here were commingled the vivid mysticism, the dogged fidelity, the strong common sense, which ever held in balance and made of James M. Thoburn at once the seer, the prophet, and the builder.

It was so at each turn of the road, always the straight honest

inquiry, the earnest prayer, the strange mystical subjective impression, with its following sensible program of hard and usually fruitful labor. His head seems often to have been in the clouds (or was it among the stars?), but his feet were firmly planted on the earth. This was again illustrated in the beginning of his missionary career. He had read years before a sermon by Doctor Olin of God's use of young men in the farthest extension of his kingdom, in the founding of Christian "empires." The word took hold on his imagination. To his latest years the word "empires" was frequently on his lips. Five years later the subject arose again and he grew restless, and in some vague way he felt that his work in Ohio was over. In prayer he again sought the divine guidance, *but,* and here is where his mystic brooding was always underlaid by sound common sense, *but* he would consult his presiding elder, Doctor Mitchell, Bishop Mitchell's father. "If he thought favorably of it I would take further steps, but if he disapproved of it I would pause and wait for more light; or, possibly, dismiss the subject altogether." At that moment his presiding elder was seeking him. They met. Said the elder, "I met Bishop Janes on the train this morning." "Bishop Janes! What can he be doing here?" "He is out looking for missionaries for India. He wants six, James; how would *you* like to go?" "I went upstairs to the little prophet chamber and knelt down to seek guidance from above. But I could not pray. God poured his spirit upon me from on high and my heart was so overfilled with a hallowed feeling of love and joy that I could not utter a word. It was not so much a call to India that I received. It was an acceptance for India." Nor did the impressions of that hallowed hour ever leave him. "That hour stands in my life as the burning bush must have stood in the memory of Moses." Once more, when in India itself, after all the early romance was over and the stark benumbing facts of India's intense devotion to her own idols filled him with anguish and as near to despondency as he ever came, seated in a lonely spot in the mountains of Gurhwal there came to him another of those supreme hours of his life when the positive knowledge of God's immediate presence was his.

He was reading in Isaiah 32 and when he came to the fifteenth

verse, "Until the Spirit be poured upon us from on high," etc., an overwhelming sense of the divine presence came upon him. "The Holy Spirit was poured upon me and in a moment my sinking heart was filled with exultant hope and confidence." Nor did this vision ever fail. Years later he would refer to it with a holy joy, not as a memory but as an abiding experience. One cannot understand the ever expectant and ever victorious Thoburn without taking into account his vivid sense of the divine presence. There were high hours in his life but they remained as abiding experiences and demonstrated their reality and validity in the outcomes of his laborious life and fruitful ministry.

And this mystic quality of the seer peculiarly fitted him to understand India. Those light gray blue eyes of his often had in them a clairvoyant, far-away look of one who sees what is denied to mere men of earth. Such a look may be seen in the dark eyes of Gandhi and Sundar Singh and many another spiritually minded dreamer of India. With Thoburn this sense of the invisible was undergirded with a robust sense of the practical; and the emotional experiences of his soul put an edge of fire to the great and adventurous plans and programs he made and carried out.

The mystic seer was a Prophet. His was rare capacity for both foretelling and forthtelling. He glimpsed great things where others saw only obscurity. He penetrated to the heart of questions that baffled many an able contemporary. And when he told of what he saw it was always in the triumphant tones of one who saw not only the difficulties but the way through. His was both the prophetic insight and the clear limpid utterance of perfect assurance. It was God, he believed, who gave him to see, and it was God who would see his church win through. How could she fail? And the clear sanity of it all was constantly demonstrated in the outcomes. He was therefore ever an innovator. He saw beyond what the present held and the utter futility of present methods to achieve what he saw. He never hesitated to change the method to secure the larger end.

He cared nothing for "reform" as an end in itself. Any change he sought was always in methods that did not reach to make way for what would. This mystic dreamer therefore introduced

more fundamental changes in the structure and program of our Methodism than any man of his generation. Did he see that many of our humble lay workers, and, in that early day, many members of our Annual Conferences, got little practical help from the formal sessions of the Annual Conference? He would gather his group together at some other time and add certain instructive and inspirational features to the regular routine. Out of this was born the "District Conference," which is now a nation-wide training school for hundreds of humble workers in India and throughout the Far East. Were the low caste people moved by the gospel promises of enfranchisement to all the enslaved of earth, but were they utterly ignorant of anything more than a vague idea of escape from the inner wrong and outer burdens of life? He saw the beginnings of a great heart movement toward Him who cried, "Come unto me all ye who are weary and heavy laden," and he forthwith baptized groups of these and placed them under the teaching of those who knew but little, but knew enough to lead the groping multitude toward the dawn. Nor did it surprise him nor trouble him when the missionary traditionalist talked of "baptizing raw heathen." He was cutting them off from idolatrous customs and helping them "to follow the gleam." And he saw he was undermining that cruel caste pyramid of India by urging and helping its lowermost layers to step out into the sunlight and under the open sky of a recognized Father God. The God of Sabaoth was in the movement. He would enfranchise these oppressed. What was the railing of the traditional missionary as over against this vision now being ratified by events?

Again he saw that a male ministry availed nothing among the secluded women of India. What could reach was a woman ministry. But, but, the "buts" availed nothing. His sister Isabel quickly understood him and came to his help. Out of this came the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. Immediately he saw the value of the deaconess. He tried to secure their ordination that they might exercise a fuller ministry among the shut-ins of India. It is laughable to recall that a General Conference sought to censure him for allowing the tips of his fingers to rest on the heads of some of them when being "consecrated." It might be

mistaken for ordination! And, now, to see that even this is coming!

When, tiring of the fitful administration of our foreign fields by meteor-like visits of "General Superintendents," he saw the value of "continuous intelligent supervision" called by whatever name, he boldly proposed the innovation of bishops resident in foreign lands. Seldom has an article so moved and startled the officials of the church as did his in the METHODIST REVIEW on this subject. And he prevailed. The result was the Missionary Episcopacy. And out of the Missionary Episcopacy has come the "area" system, which is on the whole giving us the most intelligent as well as "continuous" supervision we have ever had. And all this by the mystical dreamer who somehow glimpsed the outlines of continents where others saw but a fog bank. This was perhaps most notably the case in his seeing the value of the "Central Mission Conference" and bringing it to pass. Does it not hold the promise of relief from that centralization which would soon make a Methodist world organization impossible and give us both flexibility and solidarity, setting a wholesome nationalism in the matrix of a world internationalism?

In all this the great prophetic soul would say, God will work out the largest designs if we fearlessly step out with him. And somehow his dreams and visions are concreting themselves in ways that should bring something of confusion to those supposedly "safe" men who are ever in terror that the changing of the old order spells disaster. This man in all his career never fought a rear-guard action nor did he ever pick at existing things querulously. But when he saw some large advantage to be gained by changing ways, he went to work with fine practical sense and in simple and direct fashion he took his generation with him to higher heights and ampler horizons. In the realm of religious thought as well as in the mechanics of the church he was an independent. And his interpretation of the essentials of the Faith was as simple and clear as the light. It meant little to him whether a position were new or old. Essentially he was inclined to pragmatism. If some theory or doctrine did not seem to work, it was probably in need of emendation. And his spiritual passion was so intense that it

seemed to give him the deepest spiritual insight. And this it was that prevented much argument with him. Perhaps it is always so. The conservative minds of the church are readier to suspect new positions and interpretations when they are offered by men who, however scholarly, have never visibly made much spiritual impression nor commanded our religious confidence by their life and labors. But when this man spoke we knew what was behind the words, and there was therefore rare persuasiveness in them.

When theological storms were raging around Doctor Mitchell in Boston and later in Chicago preachers' meetings, certain articles by Thoburn in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, I think, commanded more respectful hearing than any.

The editor told this writer of his surprise that a voice from the outer rim of the Christian world should utter itself with such clearness and sanity as compelled wide and sympathetic hearing from the doughty combatants on both sides. Nor was he prophet only in seeing farther into the wide spaces. He had strangely compelling powers of utterance. It was not so much in his words alone but in the total outcomes of his presence and speech. A small dark-skinned man with trimmed beard and carefully dressed person, his clerical coat buttoned down the front, he stood before audiences great and small at home and abroad. Unimpassioned in manner, with rare gesture usually playing gently with his watch guard, not moving a step, speaking with clearness and precision in a voice that carried far, he reasoned of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come" in a way that never failed to interest and often to profoundly move his hearers. He was not what is called a "revivalist," but how men were drawn to God under the spell of his preaching!

They were people of all kinds and all stations in life. But particularly was his preaching powerful in winning the poor derelicts who are found in such numbers strewn along the coasts of Asia. He was so human, so free from patronizing the humblest, he saw so clearly the essential divinity in every man, and he was so certain of his Saviour's divine compassion and abounding mercy for all these broken ones. His voice would take on a note of almost maternal tenderness as he wooed them to the cross where one was

"set forth manifestly crucified" for them. Even when setting forth the darker possibilities that follow impenitence there was a heart break in his voice that had almost irresistible power.

Night after night in his Calcutta church he would call upon men to be reconciled to God, and night after night through the years men and women responded. The cry of the penitent and the voice of the returning prodigal were rarely if ever absent in those wonderful, simple, but always effective after meetings which always followed his night services. Sometimes it was a wandering young sailor, sometimes a woman of the street, sometimes a British merchant, sometimes an American tourist. And the genuineness of it all was seen and felt not only in the Capital City but all through India. Many of his hearers were English-speaking Hindus who were attracted to his preaching and his person. Said a stranger to a group of them one day as they passed out of the door, "Are you Christians?" "No," they replied, "we belong to Mister Thoburn." And he, democrat that he was, knew no difference among these various social layers that were in his audience. He turned from an English colonel or a Scotch lawyer to a sailor or a poor Indian clerk, saluting each in turn with kindly word and helpful suggestion. He really did not see any differences in them except in the degree that they needed him and his Lord.

On the platform or in the pulpit at home how the people flocked to hear him! He was so luminous in his explanation of missionary principles and so arresting in his illustrations. And all through his addresses there ran that bigness of conception, that certainty of large outcome, that invincible optimism which had its roots in his own deep abounding faith. No wonder the people were swept along the high tides of his assured expectancy and saw through his eyes the majestic progress of their Saviour's kingdom.

Will anyone that was there ever forget the amazing enthusiasm he aroused at the Boston Social Union banquet when, after some rather tame speaking, he arose, and in glowing terms, with that far-away look in his eyes, pictured the pitiable poverty of India's millions and their hopelessness but for Christ's utter sufficiency, and how that sufficiency was availing? And when he reached his closing words, "I expect to storm the gates of hell in

India with a million Methodists at my back," it was difficult to believe that it was staid Boston that grew so vociferously enthusiastic. I asked Bishop Merrill once, "Whom do you consider the greatest preacher in Methodism?" Immediately he replied, "Thoburn." "What makes you think that?" and he replied, "Well, what is preaching for, but to lift the hearers into the highest realms of thought and persuade them then to follow thought with action. Do you know any of us who can do that like Thoburn?"

No wonder Doctor Buckley, who disagreed with Bishop Thoburn more than any of the bishop's contemporaries, for the great editor was confirmedly conservative, said of him in that dramatic hour when the General Conference was moved to the depths in bidding farewell to Bishop Thoburn as an active worker: "There has never been a man like unto him in the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the purpose to which he devoted his life. With simplicity mingled with sagacity, with straightforward English, and yet at times, under inspiration reaching the spirit and words of the ancient prophets, but more frequently the apostle John, he has persuaded us when he could not convince, and convinced us when he could not persuade. Consequently he has had his way, which he believed was God's way."

Mystic, seer, prophet, builder, statesman, but above all and beyond all *Missionary*, James Mills Thoburn was one of God's great gifts to the church and the church served humanity at the highest by giving this, among the noblest of her sons, to great, fruitful, passionately loving-hearted India. His body may sleep somewhere in his native land, but his spirit, his memory, and the kindling inspiration of his great heart are India's and will be hers for evermore.

SOME RELATIONS BETWEEN CURRENT SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS THINKING

A Layman's Analysis

I. The New World-Outlook

That there are newer and older points of view in religious thinking is an evident fact. More or less heated diatribes from pulpit, convention platform, and religious press are constant reminders of the situation. Each partisan is inclined to deprecate the crass stupidity or the innate wickedness of his opponent, but one very fundamental and essential series of considerations seems largely to be overlooked: Just why have the newer views arisen and spread? Are there fundamental differences among those classified as sympathizing with the newer views, and if so what are the grounds of those differences? And how in general are the issues involved related to religion as distinguished from theories about religion and things associated with religion? A discriminating examination of these questions might tend materially to clear the atmosphere.

My thesis is that to a certain essential extent the newer attitudes in religious thinking are simply projections into the field of religious thought of tendencies that have transformed pretty much all other thinking in the last generation or two; that these transforming conceptions have a legitimate and necessary application to much that has been handed down to us as associated with our religious life; but that results obtained by the application of these conceptions to the complex field of religious thinking will be vitally affected by the religious experience and bias of the thinker —particularly that the results will be vitiated if he be blind to the facts of religious experience, which are a most essential element in any problem involving religion; finally that the negative results often associated with this application in large measure result from the fact that truly religious people, for reasons that we shall later consider, have so often left the task to the non-religious or even irreligious.

In the first place, let us think of the revolutionary changes that man's attitude toward the world and its phenomena has sustained in recent times. Great historical works were written prior to the last century, but the historical method and the historical spirit can hardly be said to have prevailed. In general each object or event was viewed by itself—phenomena were regarded in isolation. Now the productive thinkers of the world—those who are moving forward the frontiers of knowledge—regularly think of phenomena as forming related series. They have found that a most fruitful means of discovering what a particular thing is, is to inquire how it came to be, what combination of forces made it just what it is, what aspect of the object is an incidental survival from the past with only a historical significance, and what is the significant new element that determines the value of the later stage; or if the later stage be inferior to the earlier, the question is what element, earlier present, has been lost, or what new deleterious element has been added.

It is evident that this method recognizes that objects designated by a single name and commonly thought of as simple may be highly complex; and that their distinctive merit or demerit may not depend on the whole combination of elements, but on the presence or absence of some particular element or elements. The practical usefulness of such an understanding is obvious; it makes us complacent at the loss of the unessential, jealous at the loss of the essential, and intelligent in our efforts to enhance the essentially valuable and eliminate the essentially delcterious.

The whole subject of heredity and eugenics is relevant. What seems more unified than a human personality? Yet we know from observing ourselves as well as others that the human personality is a strange complex; often of apparently inconsistent characteristics. To one fairly well acquainted with the traits of his forebears self-inspection from the point of view of heredity may be interesting, sometimes amusing, sometimes saddening. Nor is the exercise useless, for as we find cropping up in ourselves an undesirable trait of an honored grandfather we are warned of a point where we need to station a sentinel; and when the sentinel fails to act, our understanding of the situation may keep us from

excessive self-condemnation. The same method applied to others may increase our charity. Of course, any gains from eugenics must be the result of this historical study of the human individual.

Examples almost without number from the titles of current books might be cited to show the vast range of subjects that are treated by the historic method. He who would understand the English constitution seeks the title "Development of the English Constitution." To understand a Greek temple front we need to see it as a development of log and beam construction. The various forms of the Gothic become intelligible to him who has traced them from the Romanesque or Norman. So with the whole range of the arts and with manifold institutions, political and social. Everywhere the investigator has learned to expect objects to be in chronologically related series and everywhere that very expectation has been rewarded by increased understanding or further discovery, until the method is applied by an almost unconscious habit of mind.

Closely connected with the historical method is the matter of historical perspective. The past grievously lacked this application of imagination. Our literature supplies examples at every turn. Chaucer, following the Italian Boccaccio, in *The Knight's Tale* took his theme from the prehistoric days of Greece, but the details practically all belong to the Middle Ages, with knights in armor and all the machinery of chivalry combined with just enough from pagan antiquity to keep alive for the modern reader the sense of incongruity. Similarly Shakespeare's Theseus is an English hunting squire who discusses his hounds while riding with his Amazonian bride to an English May-day celebration. It may be said that Chaucer and Shakespeare were artists rather than historians, and that the old stories were but hooks upon which to hang universal pictures of human life with details from the author's own time. Granting this, we only transfer the lack of historical perspective to the audience that would in this procedure see no incongruity.

A sense of historical perspective enables its possessor to view with a sympathetic imagination the deeds and writings of the past in their own surroundings—physical, mental, social, or moral—

as distinguished from the surroundings of the interpreter, and such sympathetic imagination is distinctly characteristic of the best thinking of this age.

But there is another relation in which things may stand besides that of links in the same chronological chain; they may belong to coördinate connected series. The recognition of the importance of looking for the light that a member of one series may cast upon a member of a coördinate related series leads to the second great instrument in recent thinking, the *comparative method.*

This method that has done so much to transform and fructify thought seems to have been first hit upon in connection with linguistic studies about a hundred years ago. When Europeans began the study of Sanskrit they were surprised to find in both root forms and inflections many surprising resemblances to the Latin and the Greek. An exhaustive comparison led to the conclusion that the three languages were sisters, descended from a common ancestor. Where the Latin and the Greek differed, the Sanskrit would resemble sometimes one and sometimes the other. More important was the fact that sometimes where the Latin and the Greek at first seemed to differ, the Sanskrit presented a third form evidently related to both the others, and thus revealing a relation between the Greek and the Latin forms that had not been suspected. Following these clues scholars built up the intricate science of Comparative Philology which established the relationships of a great group of languages, laid down the laws of linguistic growth and change, and shed floods of light upon the history of both the languages and the peoples who spoke them, light penetrating deep into the misty past far beyond the threshold of written records or even of tradition.

How extensively and how fruitfully this comparative method has been applied we all know. A glance at the catalogue of a modern library will show an imposing array of entries under "Comparative." The method is closely related and supplementary to the historical. Both assume and induce the same general conception of the world—not a static world of isolated phenomena, but a dynamic moving world of related and interrelated series.

The consciousness of such a world to those who once have been born into it is like an ever-present atmosphere, as unescapable as the air we breathe. To change the figure, it is as if one who has spent his life in a series of winding valleys should ascend to a height from which the whole region should be spread out like a map. He would gain a perspective that he would never lose.

Those most likely to be affected by the processes that we have considered are workers in certain historical, social, biological, philological, and literary sciences. The business man, the engineer, and perhaps the physicist and the chemist, of equal mentality may drift along thinking of the world in the old static, isolated fashion. Metaphysical and temperamental bias, and the tendency of some to carry over into the moral world the uniformities observed in the physical world are not at present under consideration. We simply notice that a large body of intellectual workers have come to see the world in a new light. In what direction and to what extent the newer outlook must affect their religious thinking will be our next question.

II. Religion and Religious Thought

In asking how recent changes in world outlook affect religious thinking it may be fruitful to consider the relations of religion and religious thinking. Religion is one of the most intimate aspects of the life of the spirit. In dealing with what concerns "the abysmal depths of personality" and lays hold of the infinite, it is well to realize, as men too often do not, that we are in a domain where the language of strict definition is inapplicable. We can only suggest, not define. The medium of expression and the realities indicated are incommensurate. Keeping this proviso in mind, let us try to think what we mean by religion as an individual mind may come in contact with it. I have spoken of it as an aspect of the life of the spirit. Speaking from the point of view of the only spirit to whose experience I have direct access, I should say that it is an attitude of submission to a power above the individual. I do not deny that there may be a truly religious attitude toward collective humanity or toward an impersonal universe. But for the Christian the attitude is one of thought,

affection, and will toward that supreme holy and loving personality whom the Christian thinks of as the "God and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ." Let us keep as close as possible to the concrete facts of experience. In the circle of the family, of friends, of the church there is presented to me the idea of this personality especially mediated by the character, life, and work of Jesus as recorded in the Scriptures with the interpretations and connotations elaborated in the experience of the Christian generations. I yield myself in free and joyous submission. The experiences accompanying and following this submission are such as are attributed to the influence of God the Holy Spirit working upon, with, and in my spirit. Experiences follow corresponding to what my predecessors have designated as communion with the Divine One. And so the life proceeds, the most real and precious of all life's aspects. It rests on faith—on the affirmations of my entire nature with complexes of confirmations which I cannot and care not to attempt to analyze. It involves my whole spiritual nature. I accept rationally this personality as the most reasonable ultimate ground of all being. I am stirred to joyous emotion and answering love as I contemplate His goodness and love. The doing of His righteous will I keep before me as the goal toward which my life strives. This is one type of Christian experience—the type that I shall have in mind in this discussion, while fully realizing the possibility of other types.

Thoughtful men throughout the ages have reflected upon the nature and grounds of the Christian experience and life, and upon the transcendent realities which they were assured lay behind that life. Each age, in accordance with its light and on the basis of its own world view, has tried to explain the religious life and bring its phenomena into relation with the rest of the world.

This process is to a certain extent necessary. The religious life cannot be left like a disembodied spirit. The individual Christian needs a certain body of thought to give his experience definiteness, an intellectual cruse to contain the precious ointment. There must be some religious terminology for the maintenance of Christian fellowship and for the expression of the devotional life. There must be some body of thought and terminology articulated to the

thought and terminology of contemporaries, if the Christian life is to be propagated—if a technique of evangelism is to be developed. A demand for an even more systematic body of thought arises from the necessity of defending the Christian faith against the objections of opponents—in a word, for apologetics. There is further the urge of the thinker's own intellectual life—the philosophical impulse to explain the whole round of phenomena and experience in accordance with consistent assumptions and principles.

In the formation and transmission of such systems of religious thinking, two limitations are too frequently overlooked: the inadequacy of our knowledge, our terminology, and our thought processes to deal with the transcendent values involved; and the uncertainty that the thought-form that is the most helpful and satisfying for one age will be equally so to another.

Investigators of concrete physical objects and forces realize that they are playing on the very fringes of knowledge; matter, force, gravity, space, time, motion, electricity, life—what are they? Terms that children use with feelings of entire confidence, upon the close scrutiny of the competent become like thin ghostly forms without substance or stability. What then shall we say of those august terms that aspire to lay hold of the spiritual, the infinite, the eternal? But these, it may be said, are matters of revelation. But revelation is through human agents and its truths must be in human language—in terms which for their content depend upon the experience of the recipients. Revelation is limited by the capacity of him to whom the revelation is made. The pint cup dips but a pint from the ocean. To the little child of the philosopher the terms in which his father thinks are meaningless, though by experience the child is assured of the being of his father, his presence, and his love.

But the theologian does not rest with testifying to the Christian's sense of communion with a Heavenly Father, nor does revelation rest here. We are confronted with terms that are intended to give us glimpses into the inconceivable depths of the divine nature and purposes, and the relations of the Divine One to the universe and to created spirits. It should be evident that

we are here in a realm that so far transcends human experience that terms can be used only symbolically and can convey a meaning only suggestively, the effectiveness of the suggestion depending upon the experience of the recipient and his sympathetic sensitiveness in the field concerned. In this respect the language of religion is like the language of the fine arts: for example, music and the higher forms of imaginative literature. Symbols, in themselves incommensurate with the transcendent realities, are so used as to suggest to sympathetic souls glimpses of those realities.

What has been said of the terms of theological thinking is even more true of propositions employing those terms. One stands aghast at the—shall we call it courage or presumption?—of those valiant old theologians who would use those tremendous symbols as pawns in the game of formal deductive logic, projecting their syllogistic bridges over the vast spaces of the infinites. Nothing seems a better foundation for logical reasoning than the axioms of mathematics, and yet proficients in the higher mathematics tell us that there are provinces on those higher levels where the axioms no longer apply. How much more reason is there to suspect that the vast realms of the spiritual can scarcely be triangulated by our poor human logic, where the very base-lines are determined by suggestive symbols. No, a great deal of the futility of much theological speculation, and a great deal of the difficulty with and objection to the Christian system, and much of the misunderstanding that hinders the church from adjusting itself to the intellectual idiom of to-day results from this application of the methods of mathematics and formal logic and the exact sciences to terms and propositions that ought never for a moment to have been thought of in such a connection—a failure to distinguish between the field of the sciences with its laws and facts and processes, and, on the other hand, the field of religion with its spiritual experiences and spiritual apprehension of ultimates.

A second limitation in the formation and transmission of systems of religious thinking is the failure on the part of many Christians to realize that the most helpful thought-garment for the faith of one age may not be equally available for another.

Our modern brides would hardly think they were properly

married without some form of the bridal veil. If we trace the custom back, we become involved in obscure questions of the social customs and religions of ancient pagan Rome. The wedding is so supreme an experience in the life of the bride that she cannot bear to think of omitting any practice in connection with the ceremony that has been hallowed by long custom. So strong was this feeling in connection with the bridal veil that its use was carried over from paganism by the early Roman Christians and is now found among twentieth century Protestants or unbelievers. This illustrates the common tendency to cling to whatever is associated even incidentally with the sacred experiences of life.

Now the religious experience may well be the most sacred and precious thing in life, and we have seen how natural, even inevitable, it is that a complex thought structure be built up around such experience. In this doctrinal structure are almost inextricably woven together the facts of religious experience and explanations of those facts in the terms of the general world conceptions, scientific, philosophical, social, political, and ethical, of those by whom and among whom the explanations were formulated. As this complex is handed down from generation to generation it comes to be regarded, especially by the unreflecting, as a homogeneous unit, hallowed by all the associations of the religious life, and perhaps regarded as essential to that life.

All may go smoothly so long as there is no radical change in the general conceptions of the community. When, however, such a change occurs, tension arises. This is first felt by those who are, from temperament or pursuit, most sensitive to current points of view, and who at the same time are most inclined to be consistent in their thinking. In matters even incidentally concerning religion, they are required to employ assumptions and methods which in other departments of their thinking they have repudiated as antiquated and unsound.

Different people are differently affected under these circumstances. Those with whom the intellectual element predominates may accept the assurances of the conservative that religion is inseparable from the discredited points of view, and, however reluctantly, turn from it as a beautiful dream of an age that is past.

Others, more deeply impressed with the reality and value of religion, are able to build around their religious thinking an effective dyke, impervious to the surrounding tides. Evangelical Protestants may more readily recognize this type among intelligent, devout Romanists than among themselves. A third and more significant class consists of those who, feeling a necessity for a greater degree of consistency in their thinking and being firmly convinced of the universal significance of the Christian message, are trying to discriminate between the essentials of that message and the intellectual wrappings with which it has become swathed in the course of the centuries.

Let us consider further the situation of this last class. The past two generations have probably witnessed more sweeping changes in the attitudes and methods of productive thinkers than had all the preceding centuries since the birth of Christ, the only rival epoch being the great break-up immediately following the middle ages. The man who is awake to the situation is absolutely unable to pick himself up by his intellectual boot-straps and set himself down on the other side of the chasm that yawns between him and the intellectual past. If he is to preserve his religion and, at the same time, some measure of thought consistency, he simply is forced to some such course as I have indicated above. The task is one of tremendous difficulty and complexity. Essential and incidental elements that have become almost fused together must be distinguished. New symbols in the current idiom must be formulated which will perform the function of the symbols slowly wrought out in the long homogeneous past. The essential Christian dynamic must be preserved, and to a certain extent a new evangelistic technique must be developed. Surely this is a task to be accomplished under the leadership of the same Divine Spirit who directed the whole process of revelation and has guided the church through its devious ways. And all this must be done in the face of the vehement opposition of those who, themselves feeling no necessity for the task, regard the whole movement a wanton attack upon things holy and precious.

There are really two great sources of misunderstanding between earnest Christian people to-day. The first has just been re-

ferred to—one group do and the other do not feel the necessity of readjustments in theological idiom. The second is quite as important. Those who do not feel the necessity of the newer method often fail to recognize the radical differences in purpose and results among those advocating newer points of view. Aristophanes as a conservative hated and feared the new educators of his time, but he put all new-fangled teachers into a single class, making no distinction between the disingenuous, self-seeking sophists and Socrates, perhaps the greatest moral teacher of the non-Christian world Consequently in his wonderful play, "The Clouds," he made Socrates the mouthpiece of the most reprehensible teachings of the sophists, creating against the sage a prejudice that contributed directly to his later condemnation and execution. Earnest men are to-day making a similar confusion, making no distinction between those who would defend the faith by distinguishing it from certain discrediting integuments, and those who would discredit the faith by identifying it with those integuments.

Even where the scholar has no consciously hostile purpose toward the Christian faith and life, his results will be vitiated if he does not possess that spiritual experience that alone makes one competent to deal with spiritual values. As well might a blind man be a competent authority upon color or a deaf man upon music. Much of the impression that modern thinking is hostile to religion has resulted from the fact that the more devout have so largely left to the hostile or to the religiously incompetent those delicate tasks the primary requirements for which are spiritual sympathy and dependence on the Spirit of Truth.

Perhaps we may next, with profit, apply to certain important specific problems the principles so far presented.

(To Be Concluded in the Next Issue)

PRAGMATIC CHRISTIANITY

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH
Detroit, Mich.

MR. PRESIDENT, FATHERS, AND BRETHREN:[1]

THE angels of the churches have greatly increased in number since the brave days when the first chapters of the New Testament Apocalypse were written. They look out on far lying territories and they see the mobilization of the Christian forces in many lands. And since the days when sailors first moved through the Strait of Belle Isle and the days when daring explorers first passed beyond the Rockies and listened to the breakers of the Western Sea your own potential country has not only become a mighty commonwealth, a free empire in the New World, but it has also become a land of commanding Christian forces. The angels of its churches have looked upon numberless valiant deeds. They have witnessed the growth of Christian character and the impact of vast Christian energies upon the life of the whole land. It is saying the truth modestly to declare that Methodism has had its own commanding share in the Christian achievement in Canada and to-night it gives me great joy, speaking for four million Methodists across the invisible line which separates your great commonwealth from our own, to bring greetings all glowing with eager friendship, with pride in your achievement, and with glad expectation for your future.

It is a great happiness for me as a citizen of the United States of America to stand to-night in this great and free Dominion of the British commonwealth. The two peoples share the glory of a common Anglo-Saxon tradition and the hopes of a common ideal of democracy. Our dearest political traditions go back to that motherland of modern political freedom where the people wrought out the institutions of parliamentary democracy. We are not at

[1] This address was delivered before the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada by Doctor Lynn Harold Hough, who was the fraternal delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States of America, on Friday evening, September 29th, 1922.

all willing to admit that our life begins with the year 1776. The very latest date which we are willing to accept as a mark of the beginning of our tradition is that great year we share with you—1215, when the Magna Charta was signed—and we have a shrewd suspicion that our beginning lies much farther back in the very roots of English civilization in the world. At all events the long struggle for parliamentary control in England is incorporated in our own tradition and the fountains of our liberty are the very fountains from which you drink. We have an intellectual tradition which we share in common. The bright and piercing eyes of Don Chaucer have quickened the observation of our young men, the imperial brain of Shakespeare in which every human type found a home has given us a new intellectual citizenship, the royal dignity of Milton's prose, and the long reverberating music of his stately verse have given us a new sense of the dignity of our good old English speech and the loftiness of the principles to which it can give noble and commanding expression. The chastity and restraint of Matthew Arnold, the haunting melodiousness of Tennyson's verse, the depth and range and grasp of the mind of Browning, the moral passion of Carlyle, the love of ethical beauty which burns in the writings of Ruskin: all this and much more is ours even as it is yours. The Anglo-Saxon heritage has made kings of us all.

It is also a great happiness for me to stand here to-night because we are all sharers in another gracious heritage. We have in common the American tradition. A few years ago a distinguished publicist of the Dominion of Canada delivered a series of lectures at a commanding American university on the theme *The American Idea*. I believe that he was right in asserting that out of our experiment of living in Canada and in the United States a certain spirit and a certain point of view have come into being which may indeed be described as the American Idea. And you and I receive that as a common inheritance. We do not forget—he did not forget—how much we owe even in things which we have come to regard as distinctly American to battles fought and to victories won while America was still hidden beyond the mystery of the tossing Atlantic. But it is not too much to say that our appli-

cation of the principles of freedom and self-government have given to us a spirit and a mood about life which are all our own. We have our own problems and our own terribly significant struggles. We are tempted to be overconfident. We are likely to set all too small value upon those gracious urbanities which are the fruit of a ripe and mature civilization, we are tempted to value things more than we value ideals and property more than ideas, and to fall down and worship our own material prosperity. But for all that on this side of the sea there has come to be a new and wholesome sense of the value of every man just because he is a man, a new fearlessness and a new unhesitating directness of thought about many things where the smothering influence of ancient custom has made directness difficult. A new belief in the future has been born on this side of the sea. A new belief in humanity has grown up in Canada and the United States. In your great Dominion and in our republic humanity has tasted of a fountain which has made its spirit young again. And we share in this happy renaissance of the spirit of man. The American tradition has made optimists of us all.

There is another matter which is a source of deep gladness to me to-night. And that has to do with another heritage which we hold together. The Methodist tradition is our common treasure, our common responsibility, and our common hope. That urbane eighteenth century, with so polished a surface and so tragic a moral decay at the heart of it, saw the planting of the seeds of a new moral and spiritual life all over the English-speaking world. That precise little Oxford scholar "with a genius for government not inferior to that of Richelieu" found one England and left another. Religion was born anew as Mr. Wesley and his captains carried on their mighty advance in the name of a victorious experience of the Christian life. And Francis Asbury and all the other apostles of the saddlebags baptizing infant villages in the name of vital piety all over the lands which have become your Dominion and our Republic put new moral and spiritual fiber into the life of both lands. They changed a world of rude battling with the forces of nature in America and a world of polite cynicism in England into a world with the light of the Eternal shining in its eyes and the

passionate consciousness of the presence of God taking a new place of command in its conduct.

To be sure we gladly admit that we owe much to many a stately and noble ecclesiastical tradition. The haunting sense of solidarity has been put forever in the heart of Christendom by the Latin Church. The inspiration of a great belief in the humanity lifted into a finer meaning by the incarnation has moved in and out of the consciousness of many an age from the Greek Church of the first centuries. The Lutheran Church of the Reformation lifted the sense of the right of the individual spirit to a personal contact with the living God into a place of emphasis which can never be forgotten. The Reformed Churches have made memorable and commanding the emphasis upon the righteous will of God. And they have claimed the logical faculty as a bondservant of the kingdom of God. The Anglican tradition has brought a gracious loveliness into the expression of the religious life in many a land. The Independent tradition has stood for a noble intellectuality and for a stalwart freedom. And many of the movements of protest which we feel to have missed central meanings of the catholic faith have proven right in their assertions if they have been wrong in their denials. Gladly do we open our arms to hold the golden harvest of wisdom offered to us by the church universal. It is a great treasure. And we receive it with humble joy.

And even as we open our hearts to this spirit of catholic appreciation there comes a deep consciousness that our own characteristic experience of religion and our own type of life have a significance and involve a responsibility which we must not ignore. The Methodist experience and practice of religion has far-reaching implications for us and for that universal church from which we have received so much. If one desires a phrase in which to describe the contribution of Methodism to the Christian life of the world he may speak of the emphasis upon pragmatic Christianity. The mightiest sanction in Methodism is Christian experience. Everything else is seen in its light. Everything is appraised under its beneficent influence. From the time when John Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed" until to-day the pragmatic test has been the Methodist criterion.

May we ask ourselves then the question which has to do with the place of Pragmatic Christianity in the future of religion? In doing so we shall be also asking the question which has to do with the contribution of Methodism to the present and the future. I want to venture the assertion that there are some great human quests which can only be pursued successfully under the guidance of a pragmatic Christianity. And in following this claim I believe we may see the highways of most strategic service for our people in the testing days which lie before us.

I. The most significant of all the human ways of searching is the Quest for God. The story of man's strange adventure in the world is full of it. Every religion is poignant with the pain and passion and wistful hope of it. Men have sought for God in ritual. They have sought for him in acetic self-mutilation. They have sought to meet him in submission to the behests of a church. They have sought to find him in stern obedience to demanding codes. They have sought for him in ascetic self-mutilation. They have sought him in the majesty of nature and the exquisite beauty of art. And no earnest seeker, one dares to believe, has returned without some bit of gold. But there has been deep weariness. There has been sad disillusionment. And the way of permanent and triumphant security in fellowship with God has been missed by multitudes. It is not too much to say that that direct and mastering experience of the ethereal love of God in the soul of man upon which Methodism built its every sanction is the only path which offers full and growing satisfaction to the passionately hungry spirit of man. To be sure this experience has by no means been confined to Methodism but it has been the happiness of the Methodist people to put this experience in a place of unique emphasis and to keep it at the heart of their interpretation and experience of religion. The God whom one has met in a personal experience of the forgiveness and grace of Christ has much to say to the mind and active conscience and to the sense of beauty. But all this utterance is understood at last in the light of the glorious hour of meeting when God and the human spirit entered into personal fellowship. The way for us all in this difficult age is through that audience room of the spirit where we meet the Master of life

in the luminous glory of a personal deliverance. It is pragmatic Christianity which answers fully the passionate need which drives men to the quest for God.

II. The Quest for God is itself a part of another journey of searching which the human spirit can by no means avoid. That is the quest for certainty. The desire for something sure and stable in this changing world is one of the structural desires in human life. It emerges as a mental demand in the Eleatic philosophy centuries before the coming of Christ. It is a haunting desire back of much of the restlessness of this distraught and bewildered age. From Heraclitus to Bergson there have been thinkers who were prophets of the instability of things. But even they if they were to be saved from utter incoherency needed something permanent at the basis of all that was mutable. And even when most adventurous the mind of man is driven back to the desire for security in some abiding certainty which can be depended upon in the midst of all the flux of things. Men have tried to find certainty in an infallible church. And the church has become a tyrant of contradictory moods. They have tried to find certainty in a mechanically infallible book. But the Bible loses its soul the moment you attempt to turn it into a book of mathematical rules. They have tried to find certainty in their own natures. But the kaleidoscope within has offered no secure and steady place of rest. It is when the soul of man meets the life of God in all the wonder of a personal experience of religion that a basis of certainty is really found. There is no apologetic like the simple words: "Whereas I was blind now I see." The church has its contribution to make as it brings a man into the atmosphere of vital piety. The Bible becomes indeed God's messenger as it speaks not of mechanical rules but of the life of God in the soul of man. The voice of human nature itself responds when the mastery of the divine life has reached its deepest depths. But the deciding matter is just the mighty contact of the human personality with the divine life. It is a growing and deepening experience as the years go by. It is to be guided and developed by the play upon it of all the other lives renewed by the same experience. But it remains true that the central and defining matter in the finding of certainty is just

the meeting in vital experience of the upreach of man's need and the downreach of God's transforming love. Pragmatic Christianity brings satisfaction to man's quest for certainty.

III. In men who come to understanding of their own nature the quest for God and the quest for certainty comes sooner or later to be involved in the quest for an organic life. For the very disconcerting thing about the individual man is just his incapacity to organize all the forces of his life into noble unity and so to make possible a really harmonious character. Robert Louis Stevenson put it all too simply when he spoke of Doctor Jekyll and Mister Hyde. Life would not be so terribly difficult if there were only two of each of us. With more insight but with a curiously mixed bit of mathematics Matthew Arnold wrote:

> Each strives nor knows for what he strives
> And each half lives
> A hundred different lives.

As a matter of fact there is a whole community of each of us. They have the most contradictory likes and dislikes. They want the strangest and most different sorts of things. Whole armies of them march and countermarch upon the arena of our inner life. And really that is too promising a figure. For a good deal of the time they are fighting each other in hopeless confusion. The battle for an organic life is the fundamental fight for every man. And the quest for a purpose noble enough, for a devotion great and high enough to master and bend about it all the forces of our life is one of the ultimate quests of the individual in the world. Here again the golden word is said by that type of religion whose appeal centers in a personal experience of the love of God as it speaks to us from the cross and as it grows in us through the fellowship of the living Christ. When a man puts the living Master in the place of selfish desire in his own heart the great decisive experience of life has come to him. Now he is ready for all sorts of large and far-reaching tasks. For only an organic life can work with the noblest efficiency about the great matters of the world. And here again a pragmatic Christianity has the message which is needed by our time.

IV. The Quest for an organic life on the part of the individual is not the end. It is only the beginning. It is inevitable that the man with the new life shall begin to think of the new brotherhood. It is inevitable that he shall enter upon the quest for an organic society. Men have sought for an organic society in a good many ways. Karl Marx thought it could be produced along economic lines and wrote *Das Capital* to make plain the way. Men have been ready to call in the most varied forces for the making of that better social order of which they have dreamed. One ventures to believe that no society can be better than the individual men who compose it. And therefore the individual whose own life has been made organic by the grace of God will always be the pivotal man in the making of the organic society. But there is more to be said. The very experience of the love of Christ which sets going the processes which make the individual life organic also sets in motion all the forces which make for brotherhood. The very experience which gives a man peace in his own soul makes him a brother of other men. And Christian experience itself is a social thing. It is not in isolation but in the gladness of brotherly living that men enter upon the great riches of Christian experience. And so it comes to pass that the personal appropriation of the love of God as it speaks to us through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the very method by which an individual becomes a social man equipped to have his share in the producing of an organic society. Whenever your men of social passion are without this mighty personal dynamic they lack an essential part of the power they need for their task. And the man with a deep and rich personal experience of the love of God can only keep its shining clarity if he puts it to work upon social tasks. Social passion without mysticism is a body without a soul. And a deep and rich experience of the things of God in the soul without social expression is a ghost without a body wandering forlorn about the waste places of the earth. Pragmatic Christianity is to give wings to the social passion. And so at last the organic society is to be produced.

V. All the while the men who are most deeply responsive to the great moral and spiritual appeals of life will be haunted by a great desire. And this desire will set them upon another way of

searching. It will lead to the quest for a living church. It is easy to manufacture ecclesiastical machinery. It is not easy to be sure that the presence of the living creature is in the wheels. There are no end of things we should like for the church. The one essential is that it shall be alive with the life of God. All the augustness of its tradition and all the noble beauty of its form of worship will count for little if the breath of life is not in it. And here again there is one secret of potency. Some have thought to find it in the union of existing communions. And no doubt any union which is the expression of noble moral purpose and of great spiritual passion will have great significance. But mere union does not mean new power. The union of two dead churches would only mean the presence of a larger ecclesiastical corpse. The great matter is the securing of life. And when you have the presence of the very life of Christ in the soul of the church you will have the heart of unity even when there is no ecclesiastical bond. You can never secure life by even the most noble kinds of ecclesiastical manipulation. The life which is to renew the body of Christ must come from a new and deep appropriation of all that he offers to the soul of man. Once more the fountains of the living presence must play in the heart of every Christian. And this inner inspiration must be given adequate expression in relation to all the concrete problems which we face. Where there is a group of living Christians accepting the tasks God sets before them there is always the living church. And so pragmatic Christianity, facing with candor and passion the tasks of the actual world of to-day, will show us the way to the living church. And as we follow the guidance of the corporate life of the spirit we shall find a new unity coming to the church of Christ throughout the world.

VI. It is inevitable that every area of life shall at last be claimed for the rule of the living Christ. And so sooner or later the body of Christians in the world must set out upon the quest for ethical beauty. All that is lovely belongs at last to the church of God. The quest of loveliness is a really Christian quest. Indeed it is only as it is guided by the spirit of Christ that the quest for beauty is saved from grave and fearful dangers. The study of the renaissance in Italy reminds us vividly enough how poisonous

a thing the love of beauty may become if it is not mastered by the passion for noble and pure living. It is only when beauty is wedded to goodness that it is safe. And it is only when goodness is wedded to beauty that it is saved completely from a certain hard angularity which sometimes characterizes the expression of the best of motives. All the rich and glowing meaning of this wonderful world is to be captured and interpreted in the terms of that moral and spiritual loveliness which is at the very heart of the Christian religion. And here again it is a personal vision of the majestic presence of the living Christ which is to be the guide to all beauty even as it is the way to all goodness. Pragmatic Christianity is to lift the whole realm of æsthetics into the glory of the kingdom of God.

VII. There is another quest which has appeared before the mind of our age as a matter of great desire. We saw the golden gleams for a moment. We thought we were ready to set out upon the great adventure. But now clouds and darkness seem to be all about. Yet the quest must be undertaken. If we were confused for a moment we must arise with refreshed understanding and renew the struggle. We cannot forego the quest for an organic world. International relations must come to be dominated by the mind of Christ, or, to paraphrase a phrase I once heard Lord Robert Cecil use in the House of Commons, "We must go back to the politics of the jungle." If we attempt to exclude any set of relationships from the rule of Christ that very evasion will make it impossible for him to rule completely in any set of relationships among men. So by a necessity which inheres in the very nature of the Christian religion we must hope and pray and work for an organic world. And here again at last the whole matter rests upon multiplying the number of men and women with a living experience of the things of God ready to think the thoughts of Christ after him and to do his will in all the avenues of the life of the world. A genuine Christian experience makes inevitable the missionary enterprise. And just as surely it makes inevitable the ultimate battle of mankind, the battle for the enthroning of Christ in the whole field of international relationships. We are left dizzy by the magnitude of the task. All the more we are driven back to those

sources of inspiration which come from the personal fellowship of the Christian with his Lord. A Christian experience perpetually alive is the inspiration which will carry men to the end of the great endeavor. Pragmatic Christianity is to give us the capacity to create an organic world.

If all these things are true we may say very humbly and with a profound sense of responsibility that the very history and character of Methodism gives it a place of strategy in all the essential matters which confront the world to-day. Without self-consciousness and with devout gladness for all the great words to be uttered by all the churches we may know that God has given us a living word for this great hour. The emphasis upon Christian experience sets all the fountains of vitality playing in the church and in the world. Pragmatic Christianity belongs to all the churches. And it is to be theirs and ours all the more completely because we take most seriously our responsibility in respect of its dissemination. So with good heart we may go forth to do our work in the world.

A CONCEIVABLE ATONEMENT

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When I was a small boy I was occasionally troubled by a peculiar form of nightmare. I would wake up with a horrible sensation, half physical, half mental, that speedily became unendurable. It seemed as though my head was filled with an immense number of infinitely minute bodies which were at the same time each as big as the earth. Apparently I had intuitively anticipated the modern conception of the atom as at once the ultimate unit of matter and as a universe in itself. It was the feeling of impossible reality, of contradictories embodied in reality, that I found so distressing. Now, without straining after any exaggerated comparison, I have to say that I have experienced something of the same kind of distress in the effort to grasp some of the modern theories of Atonement. I am one of those perhaps to be pitied persons who must have, as a working basis of religion, conceptions which have the feel of reality. The need for a preachable theory of Atonement is a mere platitude. I want something better than that. I want a *conceivable* Atonement. That there may be a "preachable" formula without any conception having the value of reality behind it I know full well. My special friend in theological college had a record as a successful evangelist before entering the ministry. In an intimate talk one day he confessed a problem that was bothering him. "It is not that I have ceased to believe in the Atonement," he said, "or that I doubt anything of which I was once sure. It is just that I have discovered that when I preached about the Cross of Christ and salvation through his blood, I was using with great confidence expressions that simply did not mean anything real to myself. What could they have meant to my hearers, and how could they have been converted by a preaching so out of touch with reality?"

As a minister I do need a preachable doctrine if I am to build an intelligent faith in my people; but more urgently do I

need a personal grasp of the reality of Atonement, which alone can justify my preaching at all. Quite early in my religious life I had rebelled against the crude substitutionary theory. Soon after becoming a "fully accredited local preacher" in the old country I had taken up the question with my superintendent minister in a rather rash way, I am afraid. The immediate cause of my outbreak was a verse in a hymn of Charles Wesley, beginning, "O wondrous power of faithful prayer," of which the second verse ran as follows:

> Let me alone that all my wrath
> May rise the wicked to consume!
> While justice hears thy praying faith
> It cannot seal the sinner's doom.
> My Son is in my servant's prayer,
> And Jesus forces me to spare.

The dear old "Super" with dignity and firmness took the ground that the church standards required me to believe in an Atonement involving a penal substitution. I could not bring myself to affirm this, and matters were drifting to a crisis when the younger minister came to me. He spoke about the modern tendency within quite orthodox circles toward a modification of the extreme form of doctrine to which I objected; he suggested that the presence of such hymns was one reason why a new handbook was being prepared, and he lent me Rev. J. Scott Lidgett's *Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*. I found a sentence in this work which seemed as if it might offer a compromise formula, and I took it to the superintendent and said, "Now I can accept that if it is satisfactory to you." He beamed upon me with delighted relief. The crisis passed and left me still within the fold. Later on, I came to see that the particular sentence served as ground of compromise just because it had no positive content at all. It was, what so many expressions of the mediating theories are, ingenious attempts to affirm and repudiate the same thing in the same breath.

Now I know well enough that a statement like that is either a piece of uncouth impertinence, or it is something of a discovery. Consideration and observation through the years, with the coincident judgment of some theological experts, have convinced me

that it is a fact. During my college course I came to see that whereas a straight and strict theory of penal satisfaction on the one hand, or a purely dynamic theory on the other, could each be formulated with perfect clearness, any mediating position manifested this curious quality, that apparently it could not be expressed. It could be hinted at; one could go around it and around it in involved sentences; but it seemed to be impossible to explicate it. I was even so rash as to state this opinion at length in examination papers. The heavens did not fall; but, as I since learned, my tutors' attention was drawn in a faint mixture of amusement at my callow theological excursions and alarums, with misgivings as to my future.

Some time ago there appeared in an influential English newspaper an article by the Rev. George Jackson, in which he complained about the absence from the modern pulpit of any definite preaching of the Cross. This was commented upon with strong approval by the editor of the British Weekly, who took occasion to define the preaching of the Cross as the doctrine that the death of Christ had for its primary purpose to enable God to forgive our sins. I am not quoting exactly, but I am sure of the sense, namely, that the Cross had to do with God first, and with man only as a result of its effect upon God, and that this effect was to make pardon possible.

Now that was a good statement of what I mean by the mediating theories. They all take pains to repudiate the harshest form of the penal substitution idea, while at the same time they insist that the Godward aspect of the Cross is primary, and that it made forgiveness possible. But when they attempt to say how the death of Christ affected God, or made possible what was otherwise impossible, they all without exception exhibit this phenomenon of incomprehensibility. They hint and suggest with paradox and antithesis, in metaphysical flight and poetic trope, but they completely fail to state with conceivable explicitness. Some attempts are even painful exhibitions, creating in the reader's mind a kind of vicarious embarrassment. They remind me of a sentence in a textbook of logic to the effect that some fallacies may pass for truth when spread out through several volumes, which when stated in

a sentence become obvious. I recognize every writer's privilege to the definition of his own terms and construction of his own thesis; what I am complaining about is that so many authors, after they have defined their terms and built their argument, when they gather themselves together to make a supreme effort and state their case with succinctness and precision, only succeed in demonstrating that there is no point in their case, but only a whirling nebulosity. The more thoroughgoing the treatment the more evident it becomes that they are attempting the difficult task of saying and denying, affirming and repudiating, the same thing in the same sentence. Their distinctions are not distinctions, but only labored ways of referring to a thing without naming it, of pointing out something while turning away the head from it. In picking out examples of this I acknowledge the risk of doing an injustice to a writer by taking a sentence out of its context, of separating a conclusion from its argument. I do not quote, however, as argument, but only as example, and to indicate an atmosphere. Let anyone follow up and read up each quotation, give each writer the opportunity to make good his own case, and I am satisfied that the average intelligent reader will confirm my charge of inherent indefiniteness.

Now is not this a remarkable thing, that so many acute minds should labor a position without being able to make it intelligible? Does it not suggest that something is wrong with the position? Is it not likely that G. B. Stevens is right when he says, "We may well suspect that what is required is, not better advocates, but a better case"? Surely we are justified in thinking that if these mediating theories could be "mediated" to the average mind, some of the well-known writers on the subject ought to have been able to do it. It seems to me that they do not, and I suggest that they do not because they cannot. I suggest that these mediating theories are not explicated for the reason that they are essentially inexpressible. I further suggest that what is inexpressible is so because it is not capable of being clearly conceived. And I assert that what is inherently inconceivable is probably not true.

The situation amounts to this. The exponents of mediating theories with one accord repudiate the revolting crudity of a strict

penal substitutionary doctrine. God, they say, did not punish Christ; his sufferings were not a judicial equivalent for the due punishment of all the sins of all the men of all the ages. No, no! Nothing like that. Nevertheless there was something in God requiring satisfaction so very like a demand for the legal *quid pro quo* that it may be described in terms that really mean that, provided they do not say so with coarse directness. There existed a barrier in God himself, apart from the barrier of man's unwillingness for reconciliation, which it was the supreme purpose of Christ to remove by his death. Isaiah was not quite theologically correct when he said, "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." In the poetry of exalted devotion it may be permissible, but it is none the less dangerous doctrine to suggest, as the Psalmist does, that "He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities." Repentance, the sick and hungry desire on the part of sinful men for pardon, cleansing and restoration to God, is very necessary in its place, but beyond that there is something mystical, serious, and terrible in the very nature of God that must be satisfied before that "pardon abundant" can run forth to meet the returning sinner with the kiss and the glad embrace. And here at this point I notice something very strange in the ratiocination of nearly all writers of this school. With unquestionable sincerity, they appear to make use of what seems on the face of it to be a particularly unfair rhetorical trick. They envisage the case of a repentant sinner; they ask, "Can God grant forgiveness without a satisfaction for sin?" and they answer, "No!" "God is all-holy; how can he look with any kind of allowance or tolerance upon sin?" And lo! they have deftly substituted for the penitent sinner the image of a sinner satisfied and defiant in his sin! "How can God make terms with a sinner in his sin?" they ask, with this latter type in mind. "Therefore," they conclude, resubstituting the penitent for the defiant, "forgiveness is not conceivable upon a mere repentance, apart from some 'reparation to law,' 'satisfaction to holiness,' 'vindication of righteousness,'" or whatever formula is favored. It is so obvious an

instance of the fallacy of the Fourth Term that one cannot understand how able men can use it without recognizing it. But they do. The sinner repentant, already potentially separated from his sin in thought and desire, though he lie still helpless in bondage to sinful habit, is not, it should be insisted, in the same case before almighty justice as the blatant and defiant lover of iniquity. Not to distinguish here is to invite confusion. With due respect I suggest that this is one reason why some writers of acumen and learning here flounder in a bog of nebulosity.

Dr. P. T. Forsyth was one for whom "dark sayings" seemed to have a fatal fascination. Apparently he was only really happy when discharging violent antitheses at the rate of one to each line of print. He is perhaps an exaggerated example of the kind of thing against which I am protesting.

"God did not punish Christ, but Christ entered the dark shadow of God's penalty on sin."[1]

"That holy confession in act of the injured holiness, amid the conditions of sin and judgment, was the satisfaction He made to God."[2]

"He had to bear the wrath, the judgment, the privation of God."[3]

"Christ could not show the power of forgiving love in full, unless he felt the weight of God's wrath in full."[4]

"I have sought to construe the satisfaction to a holy God as consisting only in a counterpart and equal holiness rendered under the conditions of sin and judgment."[5]

At the same time he seems to harbor a barely confessed suspicion of the validity of these statements as argument. "No one can feel more than I do that if all this be not absolute truth it is sheer nonsense. So it sifts men."[6] We would be in hopeless plight if truth, absolute or just ordinary, were no more capable of being conceived and uttered than the mind-wrecking anomalies and contradictions just quoted.

This kind of thing is by no means confined to writers of the Chestertonian mentality, however. Dr. D. W. Forrest glows steadily where Forsyth sputters. He puts it thus. "God's condemnation of sin, which fell upon Christ on the Cross, consisted in this, that he died a death which was not his own, and which yet in a

[1] *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*, p. 361. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 362. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 362. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 364. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 368. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

sense he made his own by his voluntary identification of himself with sinners, so that . . . he suffered as their representative the penalty of God's displeasure at human sin, and acknowledged it to be just."[7]

Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, while resisting the penal satisfaction idea, asserts an objective propitiation of God. Christ submitted himself to "the manifestation of the wrath of God against sin."[8] Death came to him "charged with the utmost power to express both the wrath of God against sin, and the undoing brought about by sin."[9] Christ "tasted to the full of those penal conditions which reveal the wrath of God against sin."[10]

Prof. J. A. Faulkner writes:

> I admit there have been mechanical and overwrought theories brought in to explain the reconciliation wrought by Christ. . . . But for all that, atonement is atonement. . . . It is not only the reaching down of God to save; it is the self-propitiation of a righteous God so that he can save and—if I might so say—maintain his self-respect."[11] "The newer thought rightly excludes from it (the death of Christ) God's punishment in the proper sense, or, of course, the sense of guilt." "But Christ experienced the hatred of the world, the sentence of the law, and the evil that threatened humanity on account of sin."[12] "The atonement is God's way of loving and forgiving and saving without—if I might so say—losing his self-respect. It is the price which justice pays to love, or love pays to justice . . . so that salvation may come to sinners."[13]

These are but samples, yet I think admittedly representative samples, of expressions used in these mediating theories. They are not merely preparatory and provocative hints indicating a line of thought to be fully explicated later, but rather the supreme efforts of qualified thinkers to state with force and precision their ultimate convictions. Provided one can take words as mere counters, as pieces in a game, it may be possible to derive some measure of satisfaction from them. But as soon as one becomes dissatisfied with opaque phrases, and endeavors to look through them for whatever realities lie behind, then their whirling confusion becomes evident. There is a point at which one's respect for sincere thinkers breaks down beneath the load of extravagant paradox,

[7] *The Christ of History and of Experience*, p. 238.
[8] *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, p. 272. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 269. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[11] *Modernism and the Christian Faith*, p. 226. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 160. [13] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

multiplied antitheses, dark sayings, and general pious mysteriousness, which prove themselves entirely unable to proceed farther and reach a position of mental tangibility.

I personally am confirmed in my distrust of all these mediating theories by the obvious fact that they are incapable of clear expression. They do not call for contra-argument. Time enough for that when they are stated intelligibly. "Desert the strict penal equivalence theory of atonement," says Stevens,[14] "and you logically end in the moral theory." Well, that would seem to indicate the direction of inevitable movement; and yet no "moral" theory I have seen so far appears to do justice to the grandeur of the historical deed of Christ, or to the actual situation involved in a human personality being saved from sin into fellowship with God. The moral view shows a certain tone and style as of a piece of Emersonian philosophy; but it seems thin and weak, lacking in both human nature and divine grace. Horace Bushnell's *Vicarious Sacrifice,* at least the first part of it, is to my mind still the most vital setting forth of redemption. (By the way, who was originally responsible for the surprising ineptitude of labeling that the "Sympathetic Theory"? It is a pure dynamic theory. Christ's sacrifice is, to this writer, the culmination of his work, whereby he becomes the "power of God unto salvation.") But this point of view certainly needs reissuing in the language of to-day, and in view of our modern emphases of historical reality and biblical criticism.

I have found most satisfaction for myself in following up a remark of W. N. Clarke, in his *Outlines of Christian Theology,* when, speaking of the reality underlying all attempts to define atonement, he says, "If we could find it we might be surprised at its simplicity; we certainly should wonder at its divine beauty and naturalness." I have tried to stand back so as to get the perspective, to disentangle myself from the technical vocabulary that has grown up round the subject, and to look afresh for myself at the facts of which any theory of redemption must be simply the explanation.

There are two considerations which seem to me to call for

[14] *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation,* p. 432.

recognition in a frank and thorough way if we are to have a conception of atonement with the feel of reality. The first is this: seeing that all the historical theories from Anselm down have been attempts of men to state the fact of redemption in the thoughts and terms of their own age, we must make up our minds that the New Testament writers were simply the pioneers in the age-long task; that is, they were interpreting redemption in the idiom of a given age, rather than making a standard doctrine to be handed down through all the Christian centuries. This does not merit the charge of "talking down to," or "checking up" Paul, or the other writers. It simply means that we rightly evaluate their work, and do not suppose it to be what it could not possibly be. If their work had been sufficient for all time it could not have met the immediate need. That it had to meet an immediate need rendered it impossible that it could serve for all time. The theories, or suggestions of theories of atonement in the New Testament, help us to understand how the particular writers conceived redemption; they do not really help us very much to understand redemption itself. Those great minds were occupied with the endeavor to present the truth of Christian salvation to men whose thinking was bound up with systems of Hebrew sacrifice, Roman law, mystery religions, and the general paraphernalia of the thought world of the first century. Most of all they were concerned with Hebrew ritual in the developed system of that religion. Christian thought through the ages has naturally tended to translate the doctrine through the same medium. But it has been seriously handicapped in using that medium by the absence of the critical method and of the recognition of development in Hebrew conception and usage. We have only just come to realize that the Hebrew system was by no means given complete to Moses, but was of long and slow growth. We have hardly yet adjusted our minds to the import of the prophetic attitude toward sacrifice as having no special divine sanction. Whatever help we may get from the Old Testament sacrificial ideas and practices in understanding the mind of the early Christian writers, we are no longer bound, in fact we have no longer the right to regard those conceptions as determinative for our own thinking.

Nor are we under any necessity to suppose that every turn of argument used by Paul or the writer of Hebrews is theologically sound by the guaranty of divine inspiration. Paul not seldom permits himself to use as argument what we can only excuse as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Let anyone sit down and seriously consider a passage like Rom. 11. 30–32, or 9. 18–20, and he cannot but be convinced of this, especially if he read them in Moffatt's version. Can any twentieth-century man feel these passages to be other than shocking? The Wesleyan Church in England issues lists of books which it recommends to its ministerial probationers. Some of these are marked with an asterisk. A footnote explains that these are to be read "with discrimination." Would it really be honoring Paul or the other New Testament writers to require that we shall read them without discrimination? The highest honor we can pay to these pioneer Christian thinkers is surely to strive by the grace of God to do for ourselves and our generation what they did for their own time, namely, see afresh and utter in words of reality the significance of the Cross of Christ.

There is another thing which is, I think, apparent as soon as it is pointed out, but which needs pointing out, and when it is pointed out must inevitably be basic for any adequate modern presentation of Atonement. It is this: God in Christ is not operating any scheme of self-propitiation, or striking a balance between his attributes, manipulating a plan, or saving his self-respect. He is not making concessions to, or squaring Law; he is not even dealing with Sin in the abstract, or with sins in the concrete. He is dealing directly, as a Person, in a personal way, with persons. I believe that the way to an apprehension of the redemption of Christ for our generation lies through that thought. I invite careful consideration of it. God, as a Person, is dealing directly with persons. Atonement is no scheme having a direct effect upon God and a reflex influence upon men. It is neither a substitution, a representation, or a manifestation. It is direct action, and it is the direct action of a Person upon persons.

For me this opens out a conception of the purpose of God and the work of Christ grand enough and real enough to correspond with the greatness of human need and the marvel of God's redeem-

ing act in the historic Jesus. It may not appeal to others any more satisfactory than the mediating theories appear to me. But "so it sifts men"! I offer it at least for consideration to those who, like myself, reach toward those forms of doctrine and find nothing there to grasp.

The situation with which divine redemption has to deal is essentially simple, in spite of all efforts to complicate it with conflicts between law and love hindering God's free forgiveness of penitents. Through the ages God has been seeking to bring men into vital union with himself, as finite persons capable of fellowship with the Infinite Person. It was never a question of restoring an original fellowship in a perfect state lost in the dawn of human existence, but of leading up to spiritual fellowship a race slowly evolving religiously under the guidance of God. His efforts have been hindered by just those difficulties that obstruct any coming together of sundered personalities—ignorance, prejudice, latent or overt hostilities, and the self-regarding attitude generally. Now ultimately it is only personal action and influence that can overcome a disharmony of personalities. All God's endeavors through history in his providential discipline of men have been, or have led up to, his direct personal approach to the souls of men. Through the blind instinct of tribal self-preservation, in the development of the practice of sacrifice, by hard moral retribution, in prophetic exhortation, and the intuitions of seer and psalmist, God prepared the chosen people for his final revelation—a revelation that was more than any discipline or manifestation—that was a great and direct Deed. To a certain extent even this preparatory work had its success, for toward the close of the old dispensation we find that some of the finest spirits had already realized that religion is more than a matter of tabu and sacrifice, but a personal attitude toward a personal God. Was it not out of this sense of personal fellowship with God that the dawning belief in immortality took its rise? So that the stage was set for the coming of God in Christ, God the Infinite Person incarnate in a human personality.

Let us stand back a little from the picture, endeavoring to shake ourselves free from hampering theological prepossessions,

and ask ourselves just what it was that the historical Jesus sought to do, and actually accomplished in his life and death. Obviously his teaching was not his main work, fragmentary and occasional as it was in itself, and probably imperfectly preserved to us. He is an example of holiness under human conditions. He pours out his soul in divine benevolence upon the bodies and souls of men. But these things are obviously incidental. And even his death appears far too much a necessary part of his whole policy and program to be isolated from them. Whether we think of him as knowing the ultimate outcome from the beginning of his ministry or not, it is plain that his purpose was clear to himself throughout. What was that purpose? I suggest that it was *to create a situation and to force an issue.* However we define our Christology it is evident that Christ looks upon men from the standpoint of God and speaks to them with the voice of God. In himself he incarnates the personal God, and in his developing relations with men he incarnates the very situation that has always existed as a spiritual fact between God and men. With deliberate purpose he so acts and speaks as to gather up life's tangled moral threads and make them converge upon himself. In a word he reduces religion to a personal issue. He will not discuss side issues or abstract propositions. "The Will of God?" "*This* is the Will of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent."

And having created that situation he deliberately forces the issue. He thrusts it home in his controversy with the leaders of the people, challenging, provoking, making inevitable the murderous reaction. He need not have done it. There were probably other countries and peoples that would have welcomed such a Teacher. He brought about his own death; that is certain. It is not to be wondered at that a thinker like Nietzsche speaks of his death as a suicide. In a sense it was that. But we are conscious as we follow him making his way to Jerusalem for the final tragedy, that he is seeking no cowardly escape from the impossible burden of his task, but following out a clearly conceived purpose that includes death as the inevitable condition of achievement. He dies, and his cause seems to be extinguished in blood. He rises again, and the faith of his disciples is kindled to a blaze of world-

conquering passion. In the marvel of redemption they see the central Fact clearly, but its glory so dazzles them that they are unable to set it in its place in any final coherent system of thought. But what really happened? What, in ultimate reality, did God accomplish in the Cross of Christ? This at least, whatever of less or more we may wish to think; God Incarnate stood athwart the pathway of humanity drunk with the pride of sin. He stood with lifted hands, friendly but with inflexible purpose. He will turn them from their sins to God. He will not step aside, nor will men halt in their career. . . . God incarnate is ridden down, crushed, crucified. . . . Sin is blatantly triumphant. . . . And in its very triumph it defeats itself. In its judgment upon the Christ of God it pronounces judgment upon itself and becomes conscious of that judgment. God wins by allowing sin, rather by forcing sin to work itself out to its uttermost reaction against his redeeming purpose, in the person of the Lord. He reduces the age-long conflict of personalities, human and divine, to the concrete happening of historical fact. In that fact are set forth, placarded as it were upon the very heavens, the essential nature of sin as hostility to a personal God, and the essential nature of God's grace as the willingness to put forth divine effort and to suffer at men's hands, that he may win them to fellowship to himself. Without being able to explain it, men felt that it was *their* sin individually that had crucified Christ, and they saw in his willingness to die God's attitude of relentless goodwill toward themselves as sinners, and so they said most naturally, "He loved me and gave himself for me." And they were right. But it was through no artificial scheme, or transaction between the persons of the Godhead, but in the most direct way of approach to and dealing with sinful souls.

Beyond the possibility of dispute this is what Christ did, and this is what God accomplished through Christ. There may or may not be more involved, but this is certain. Whatever else may be true, this *must* be true. Here is solid ground. It is sufficient for me. It is at once big enough and simple enough and natural enough. The various schemes elaborated in the historic theories seem like so many side issues, blind alleys, into which men have

been turned by peculiarities of their mental outlook, accommodations of God's temple to their particular style of temple furniture.

Personality, we are coming to see, is the highest, the final category. Law, Holiness, Divine Honor—these are subsidiary. Satisfaction to Law, Holiness, or Sovereignty are inherently imperfect ways of thinking. There could be only one kind of satisfaction to a God who determines Law, and is holiness, but who is supremely a Person, and that is a reconciliation into a fellowship of life of his creature man, made a person also, in his image who created him.

[Editorial Note—Many of our readers will be in sympathy with the above criticism of the many theories of the Atonement. Yet this caution is necessary—in spite of their insufficiency and defects, nearly every theory has certain values which cannot be wholly ignored in any study of historical theology. A friend of the editor once informed him that he was going to preach a series of sermons on the Atonement; when asked what theory he would present he responded: "I am going to preach them all!" There are two fundamental Christian doctrines, the Incarnation and the Atonement. Discussions of both subjects have and will appear in the Editorial Department of the Methodist Review.]

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF IMMORTALITY

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THE source and the warrant of the human dream of immortality has furnished unending controversy. Neither the appeal to history, to science nor to individual experience has been at all satisfactory. It has assumed different forms with different civilizations and religions and in none has received perhaps such definite form as in the Christian faith. Even here there is much teaching about it which seems unwarranted in any words coming from the Founder of Christianity himself. Undoubtedly Christianity in its formative period was profoundly influenced at this point by the eschatological theories current at the time. It has been denied and doubted and assailed again and again, but the theory of immortality holds such comfort for man that it has never been successfully assailed. For this fact there must be some adequate reason and we believe it lies within the functioning of the human spirit itself.

I. THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF IMMORTALITY ARISES FROM THE TIME-TRANSCENDING NATURE OF EXPERIENCE

It is doubtful if there is any other animal than man who is ever troubled with the notion of immortality. The animal is conscious of his surroundings and his relation to them, but to the animal man is granted the unique gift of consciousness of conscious states. In other words, he possesses the power of reflection upon his own moods. While the animal obeys impulses, man questions them, and out of this power of reflection arises man's moral world, the sense of moral responsibility and with it civilization and culture. He masters his world as the animal does not master it because he possesses the unique gift of mastering himself and his own thoughts.

There is reason, therefore, to take issue with a great body of present-day anthropological teaching which attempts to ground the consciousness of immortality upon visions of the dream state and

the division of personality arising out of the distinction between dreams and waking consciousness. The ground of the feeling of immortality lies rather behind these in that functioning of the human mind which enables it to reflect upon the nature of its dreaming as distinguished from its waking experience. There is little doubt that animals dream, there is no evidence to show that they reflect upon a dream state or distinguish between dream and waking experience. For a similar reason it seems far-fetched to attribute the rise of a belief in immortality to a belief in ghosts resulting from dreams of the dead. Here again we must go back to that fundamental functioning of the human mind which distinguishes the dream state from the waking state and identifies, perhaps, the dream state with continued existence in another world or spirit-plane of life. Neither is it quite reasonable to affirm that the theory of immortality (and with some all religion) arises out of fear of the dead. This fear is common in animals, without in any way giving rise to religious or moral reflections. We have here as in the case of the horse which fears to approach a dead body all the elements of psychological inhibitions except that part which in man arises from his power of reflection. The difference in the experience of the horse and the man is worlds apart for this very distinct reason which the behavioristic psychologists are prone to ignore.

The human mind has not been long at its work of interpreting experience until it becomes conscious of an order of time. In fact the second conscious experience is set up under a time relation to the first and to the perceiving self. Henceforth we have a growing consciousness of a double order—an order of experiences bearing relation to each other and an order of self-consciousness which observes and transcends the order of experience. Man is conscious of the past with relation to the present and very soon learns to project the present experience into the future, to reflect upon it and to act with it in mind. He thus becomes the master of time and being limited by it, yet transcends it. It will at once be objected that the animals likewise are "time-binders," to use the phrase of Count Korzybski, for we find them making provision for the future. The dog buries the bone against the morrow, the

bee provides against the coming winter, there are numberless instances. But it does not appear therefore that there is any reflective consciousness of time. The action may be as instinctive or "functional," to use a popular scientific expression, as the provision of the tree for the dissemination of its seed, or its preparation for approaching seasons. The absence of reflection is clearly shown in the case of animals by their utter lack of adjustment to a changed environment. The trap door spider, according to Fabre, if her work of building the nest which is to protect her eggs be interrupted will simply complete the operation from the point at which she was arrested. She has no power of reflection and cannot therefore go back and start again. She finishes off as if the previous work had not been destroyed, even though to do so means sure destruction for the eggs she is about to deposit. While therefore the animals may be declared "time-binders," the distinction relative to time, between themselves and man, is that man possesses the capability of reflection upon the order of consciousness. He is a time being if you please, but also a time-transcending being as well. Being time-transcending, having had countless experiences of the survival of time, he naturally expects to continue the survival of time. He cannot think of himself as non-surviving or non-existing; to do so would be paradoxical. The chief item of personal experience is continuity. Hence all theories of non-survival have had hard sledding because they fight the most fundamental consciousness of experience. On the other hand, a consciousness of immortality is functional and for its definite development only awaits the further progress of reflection. For this reason the growing reflection of man and the higher development of his powers of self-consciousness is sure to deepen his consciousness of the need for immortality.

II. The Consciousness of Immortality Attends a Timeless Order of Living

The conviction of immortality does not grow insistent except in the presence of an eternal order of living. This point is frequently overlooked by disbelievers in immortality. It is true that it may be repulsive when not raised to the higher plane and seen

sub specie aeternitas. There is no demand for the continuance of a life taken up merely with eating, drinking, and being clothed withal. A future state of unending wassail, while it has found its way into the Christian hymnal, is not Christian teaching. There is no obvious reason for the continuity of a life which lives only in and for things that perish with the using. Such an order of life becomes wearisome to the jaded pleasure-seeker even here and now, and its extension to all eternity would be a horror. This is the fertile source of much modern skepticism.

It is only as life takes hold upon the profounder issues that the demand for immortality becomes clear. If life is bent upon the interests that transcend time, then there is all the force of life demanding immortality. There is possible to man a self-forgetfulness of service which for far-reaching insight cannot be completed in the short span of his earthly career. There is possible love that shines even more clearly through the shadows of death and lives on undimmed by time and change. There is loyalty that passes the expression of the feeble years. To say that man's aspirations are raised to this consciousness only to be denied is not only to go contrary to whatever else we see in nature and life, but is also to deny the persistence of the most real values. The very reflections that lift him above the brute world and endow his life with greatness and worth must be taken as the illusory phantasm of a dream. I have said this is contrary to the experience of nature. Whatever functional instincts are given to tree and animal in the way of provision for propagation and care for their offspring are in general steadfastly met by nature. If the thistle wings its seeds the broadcasting air is not wanting, if the walnut builds a thick, hard coat for its germ of life, the winter is not far away. If the spider is gifted with functional instincts it is because those provisional instincts correspond to an existing reality. If then one result of man's functional reflection is the consciousness of continuity, there is reason to presume that there is something in reality corresponding to it.

If it be true that an eternal order of living demands immortality, it is further true that such an order of life alone can satisfy the human spirit. Of course there are examples enough of those

who seem satisfied with meat and drink and lust, but the common mind of the race repudiates them and follows after those who live by the higher order. And these who momentarily seem so well content are stirred betimes with dark misgivings as of those who throw away their richest opportunities and waste life. If life be lived after ideals that enlarge as they are realized, death becomes but the introduction into an order unlimited by temporal and spatial conditions in which whatever is willed is done.

The consciousness of immortality is further in strict accord with the logic of life and growth. The struggle of the individual for knowledge, his apprenticeship in the work of adjustment of his life to social relations and moral demands, call for an extension of time. Most men have only begun to learn how to live when death calls them. There are unnumbered evidences that the present life is only an apprenticeship in self-mastery and self-control, the anteroom to some vaster life. And man is the only being in nature whose earthly career takes on the aspect of fragmentariness. If one replies that such may be only in his own thoughts, the question arises why he alone of all creation has those most troublesome thoughts. To leave him without immortality is to truncate his possible span of usefulness and to make him unhappiest and least useful of all with no rational excuse for existence.

The belief in immortality has been much hindered by the false emphasis which is frequent in much religious teaching. This doctrine urges man to prepare for a future life as if that life were not already begun. Thus an unfortunate dualism dwells in it to defeat its own end. That future life, if it be a continuity, depends upon the order of life that is now participated in. If one is now living after the eternal order, he need not waste energy in useless conjecture as to the nature of that life to come. He is already learning how to live in God's world after a divine order and will be at home anywhere where God is King. His task is not to get to heaven, but to get heaven in his heart and life. His one concern here is to acclimate himself to God's high order of living, then death itself shall be but the opening of a door into a less limited life, but into one with which he is already familiar because he has lived according to the spiritual order.

III. Immortality is Individual or Nothing

Much vogue is being given by writers on psychology and philosophy to the notion that the demand for immortality is satisfied by a sort of deathless or at least extended influence that one leaves behind in the memories of others. It needs only to remind ourselves in the face of such claims that such is immortality only in name. It could never satisfy a clean-cut reflective mind. The present life centers about personal experience. Its experiences are nothing if not individual. Life takes on unfolding meaning only as a person transcends time to gather the passing procession of events into a system of relations. All man's knowledge is dependent upon this. Upon it hang rationality, mental growth, and everything that makes life meaningful. The personal continuity through time and change is the thread upon which all hangs. Even to sink into Nirvana would not be immortality unless one were to keep the distinction of self-hood. Transmigration would not be immortality without a clear remembrance of its previous state. Pan-psychism would for similar reasons be equally meaningless. Immortality to be such has the same center as living experience, a continued and relating personality.

IV. Immortality is Outside the Field of Scientific Demonstration

That immortality is outside the field of scientific demonstration may at first glance appear a perilous statement in view of the efforts of present day scientists to thus establish it. It is possible to enter this denial, however, without denying any material facts which may be unearthed by psychical research. It is a far cry from the proof of thought transference, mental influences and all, to the scientific demonstration that they arise from ghostly sources. Barring the obvious and continuously practiced fraud (and in the line of his desire, the scientist is no less susceptible to fraud than other human beings), the research has never been put upon a basis satisfactory to science. It is equally unsatisfactory to religion. Fundamentally, by whatever name called, psychism, spiritualism or what-not, fundamentally it is materialism. It assumes the

notion popular with some scientists that materiality is identical with reality, and that there is nothing real which is not also material. It is not necessary here to point out the inevitable skepticism and uselessness for life of such an assumption. The claim is that the pint measure of materialism is sufficient for the measurement of all values and that whatever cannot be thus measured simply is not. Even a mother's love seems more real to this kind of a pseudo-scientist if he can state it in terms of chemical reaction or Oedipus complex, to such a swinish estate has much of our thinking fallen. The attempt to photograph spirits, or to construct a telephone through which they may speak, or to set forward a medium by whom they may communicate is a presumption that though they are of another order of life, their existence can be proved only in terms of this order.

The fact is that affairs of the soul are not materially demonstrable; they belong to another order. We cannot speak of the finer experiences of human relationship or of religion except in material figures of speech, which does fairly well to get ourselves understood by like-minded people until the literalist happens to compel our figures of speech to go on all fours. This the spiritist attempts to do with the result that he is false to every demand both of religion and of science.

We know only of that life to be through the glimpses and foregleams of our own souls testifying to the souls around. Should some return from that happy place, they could bear us no understanding of its conditions because there would be no language of common understanding. They could tell us only in terms we already know and we should be as blind after their speech as before. It is as with the modern psychological conception of love as a chemical reaction. When we have found that a chemical change has taken place, we know no more about love. Love is of another order and cannot be measured in material terms or reduced to the material. When you think you have it, it is just exactly what you have not. It may be after all that the insight of Paul was true, when the only description of heaven he attempted to give was this: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for those that love him."

SHAKESPEARE THE MAN[1]

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I HAVE heard somewhere of an Irish member on the floor of the House of Commons, who, after wrestling some time rather ineffectually with the difficulties of his subject, at last gave it up in despair, exclaiming as he sat down, "Mr. Speaker, I am bothered entirely for the lack of preliminary information." Anyone who ventures to speak upon the man Shakespeare will of course experience something of the same difficulty. We have no biography of the man. We never can have. All the certain facts of his career can be stated in two or three sentences. Nor is it easy, we are told, to discover in the great array of characters he has drawn any clear outline of his own personality; we are thwarted by the intensely dramatic character of his genius. Hamlet and Brutus and Antony; Cordelia and Rosalind and Imogen and all the rest of the wonderful company—these we know; but Shakespeare we have never heard speak.

So true is this that some very competent students and lovers of Shakespeare have pronounced the effort to form any clear picture of his personality hopeless and futile. "Shakespeare," says Browning, "never so little left his bosom's gate ajar." Says Matthew Arnold:

> Others abide our question. Thou art free.
> We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still.

Sir Sidney Lee, in the latest edition of his *Life of Shakespeare*, avers that "no critical test has yet been found whereby to disentangle Shakespeare's personal feelings or opinions from those which he imputes to the creatures of his dramatic world."

Yet I must think such statements are exaggerated. The facts

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we know of Shakespeare's life are certainly meager; but they are in several respects very significant. And are his plays so dramatic as to conceal their author entirely? Can anybody conceive it possible that a man should write over thirty great plays and never disclose anything of his own moral and emotional nature, his cast of mind and habits of observation? Of course no one thinks that we can read in any of Shakespeare's plays an exact transcript of his experience or of any phase of that experience. Everything is modified, transformed by his imagination. It may be difficult to find in his dramas his particular likes and dislikes; the more important question is, what sort of man must he have been who could make us acquainted with all this world of men and women? How did he himself come to know so many? Doubtless the picture we can form of Shakespeare's personality may be somewhat lacking in sharp, well-defined features; so is the picture you form of half of the men you know on the street. And as a rule, the more full and well-rounded a nature, the more difficult is it to analyze and depict. We incline to measure men by their limitations and their peculiarities. Eccentricities and prejudices are handy pegs on which to hang our labels, and a crank is much more easily imagined than a sage. But no man can read through Shakespeare's plays without forming at least some conception of Shakespeare's character. He knows for example, as Professor Bradley has said, that these plays could not have been written by such a man as Milton or Shelley or Wordsworth, and I am ready to add, by such a man as Bacon.

I wish then to state some few traits of the man William Shakespeare which I think we may all see in his life or infer from his work. First, consider for a moment the unquestioned facts of his life. They are only these. He was born probably on April 23, 1564. He married, after only once calling of the banns, at the age of eighteen, a woman eight years his senior; after his marriage he went up to London. How long after, we do not know. One of the best students of his life thinks it must have been as early as 1582. Another thinks that it could not have been earlier than 1586. What he went to London for we do not know, or what he did when he got there; only in 1592, when he had been in Lon-

don six to ten years, do we find the first mention of him as a playwright whose success was provoking the jealousy of his rivals. From that time for some fifteen years his plays were appearing in rapid succession; a casual mention by a minor writer shows that by 1598 he had written as many as twelve. Of his life during those London years we know only one thing—we know that he was not only making plays, but making money and investing it carefully and wisely. By 1605 he had purchased real estate in and near his native town of Stratford-on-Avon to the value of 920 pounds, which we may estimate as equivalent to about $60,000 nowadays, and he certainly had other property in London also. Finally, somewhere between 1608 and 1611, he retired from London and came home to Stratford to spend the remainder of his days in the goodly house which he had purchased as early as 1597, and in which he died in 1616. These are all the facts we know beyond question; you can put them all into a sentence. He married at eighteen a wife who was twenty-five or twenty-six; at about twenty-one went up to London; in the course of the next twenty years achieved immortality and a rent-roll; at thirty-four bought a house and corner lot in his native village; at about forty-five settled down there to reside; at fifty-two died. That is the whole story.

Of course a great body of tradition has collected around these facts—that the young Shakespeare was a schoolmaster, a butcher, that he went up to London because of a difficulty over a deer-stealing adventure in Sir Thomas Lucy's park, that he held horses at the theater door, that he played the part of the ghost in Hamlet and did not play it well, that he was lame, that the Earl of Southampton gave him a thousand pounds for no clearly assigned reason, that he died of a fever brought on by drinking too late at Stratford one night with his old friend Ben Jonson, that he himself composed the doggerel verses on his tombstone—of such traditions there is legion, some of which may be true, more are probably false, and none can be certain. Then the undoubted facts of his life have given rise to numerous conjectures equally uncertain. Because he married, apparently with some haste, a woman eight years older than himself, it has been conjectured that the marriage proved an unhappy one, though there is not a particle of evidence

that it did. Then Shakespeare wrote a most interesting series of sonnets that seem to be autobiographical; many of us think they are autobiographical, and would throw a great deal of light on Shakespeare's London life if we could only agree upon any interpretation of them. And then comes Sir Sidney Lee and avers that nothing whatever can be inferred from the order of the sonnets, and that most of them have very slight autobiographical value, if any at all.

But throwing aside all tradition and doubtful conjecture, what can we read in the plain, unquestioned facts of this life? Can we form no conception of the eager youth who, refusing to measure his love by his fortune, makes a perhaps rash, certainly not a careful and prudent marriage; then, when the children come, goes up to London, carrying nothing of experience save what he has gained in the little provincial town and nothing of learning save the small Latin and less Greek that he has learned in the grammar school of that town; toils at the work he has chosen from four to seven years before he can see any one of his plays acted upon the stage and his great career really beginning? For you know there was nothing really precocious about the genius of Shakespeare. Venus and Adonis, which he says was the "first heir of the invention," was not published until 1593, when he was twenty-nine years old, though possibly written a little earlier. "Love's Labor's Lost," probably the first play written entirely by him, may be dated possibly as early as 1591. What of those years of apprenticeship in London? How comes it that the youngster who at twenty or twenty-one is holding horses at the theater door or playing minor parts on the stage, at twenty-eight or twenty-nine is writing a poem that he ventures to dedicate to the Earl of Southampton, and is a dangerous rival to the foremost playwrights of the day? Grant his genius, admit that he must have had by nature marvelous gifts of expression; yet such a record proves a great intensity of nature and an impassioned interest in human life.

But his London life surely proves also that, however intense and impassioned his temperament, he must have had it under control. The Shakespeare of the London years was no mere Bohe-

mian, still less was he, like Marlowe and Greene and almost all his fellow playwrights, a reckless and dissolute man. Nobody claims that his life in those years can be proved altogether exemplary. If, as seems to me probable, the sonnets are mostly autobiographical, there is indication in some of them of an episode of darker passion which for a time overcame his conscience and his reason. It is just possible that some of the stories of irregularities in those years have some foundation, though nothing of the kind rests on any good evidence. On the contrary, the only bit of documentary evidence as to Shakespeare's private life in London, recently discovered by our American scholar, Professor Wallace, proves that, for some years before and after 1604, he was living in the house of one Mountjoy, a Huguenot refugee, maker of ladies' head-dresses, and that he took a practical and kindly interest in the domestic affairs of that family. And we certainly need no evidence that a man of reckless and dissolute life could not have written two or three plays a year for twelve or fourteen years, plays steadily growing in intellectual power and moral soundness with every year. And if you say this is accounted for by his wonderful genius, then remember the bare fact I have mentioned, that all through those years he was making money—not spending it, but saving it, investing it shrewdly and collecting his rents and income very rigorously. This is the one thing in his career about which there can be no doubt. There are, I know, people who find it difficult to associate such thrift with the highest poetical genius, and get a kind of shock at knowing that Shakespeare prosecuted a townsman for a debt of one pound ten shillings' worth of malt while he was writing Macbeth. But nothing can be more certain, I think, than that the genius of the man William Shakespeare had a foundation of solid common sense and business sagacity.

One other thing notice. However long his stay in London, however many the attractions and distractions of life there, he always considered Stratford-on-Avon his home and always intended to return there. The earliest plays, like "Love's Labor's Lost," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "A Midsummer Night's Dream," are full of reminiscences of Stratford. In the

"Midsummer Night," indeed, you may say there is nothing else; and the latest plays, especially "The Winter's Tale," if I read it aright, are full of the deep and quiet satisfaction of return to early life and early love. There is no evidence, then, that Shakespeare had forsaken or forgotten his wife and children at home. With what was probably the first considerable sum of money he could save he bought for them in 1597 a goodly house in Stratford, and the following year proceeded to put it in repair and plant an orchard about it. For the next twelve years he would seem to have spent annually in New Place and in the purchase or lease of real estate in the vicinity, sums equivalent to nearly four thousand dollars a year. He was not indifferent to outward tokens of rank, and as early as 1599 succeeded in obtaining the grant to bear a coat of arms, for which his father had applied unsuccessfully. When he came back to Stratford about 1610, he was probably in wealth and social consideration the most important person in his native village.

Now I wish to put beside these facts, which may seem to indicate a nature unattractively mundane and practical, the only two recorded comments made upon Shakespeare's nature by eye-witnesses during those London years. A publisher named Chettle says he is sorry for having printed some months before depreciatory remarks with reference to Shakespeare's works, because he has himself since come to know him personally and seen his demeanor, "no less civil than he is excellent in the quality he professes." Besides, he adds, other people have reported "his uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty." Honesty, you know, meant more then than at present. It meant honor, courtesy. And Ben Jonson, who knew him well, declared, "I loved the man and do honor his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature." And in Jonson's lines on the folio portrait he says, you remember:

> This figure that thou here seest put,
> It was for gentle Shakespeare cut.

That epithet "gentle" seems to have been often applied to Shakespeare in later years. Doubtless it has a wide and vague meaning,

but it always implies at least something of courtesy and affability. Men never spoke of gentle Marlowe, or even, I should say, of gentle John Milton. Such testimonies, meager as they are, certainly give us some hints of the temperament which one thinks made friends for Shakespeare in those London years among all sorts of people, from the brilliant young Earl of Southampton to the plain Huguenot "tire-maker," Mountjoy, in whose house he lived.

And now this picture of the man Shakespeare that we form from the meager facts of his life is confirmed, I believe, by the inferences we draw from the dramas. In the first place the range and variety of the persons in those dramas is proof of the openness and geniality of Shakespeare's temper as a man. How did he come to create so many different men and women—some seven hundred of them? I say create; but strictly speaking the imagination never does create. It only expands, transforms, and combines the elements of experience into new wholes. Shakespeare in some sense must have known something of all those people, and he could not have known them if he had not been a companionable man who liked people and was by them. Your great dramatist can never be a lofty, isolated man like Milton, or a visionary idealist like Shelley, or a misanthrope like Swift, or a philosopher like Coleridge, or a retired and solitary thinker like Wordsworth. These men may know something of what they call human nature, as they learn it by introspection and reflection, but they do not know men and women, they do not know life. They have each only a narrow circle of friends. But for Shakespeare the world was full of interesting folk. Of narrative invention he had comparatively little; the plots of his plays, as everybody knows, are all borrowed and sometimes not very well borrowed, put together in hasty, impossible fashion. But the characters are always vital—real men and women. You feel sure that Shakespeare has known them. He was not, I suppose, a reader of many books; Holinshed's *Chronicles for English History,* and Plutarch's *Lives* for the classical world seem to have sufficed him. But the characters whom he found in books lived in his imagination as really as those that had entered there through his marvelous observation.

Indeed, observation is hardly the word to describe the method of Shakespeare's acquaintance with men and things. It implies too passive a relation. His observation proper was indeed marvelously exact, his eye marvelously acute. He saw common things, for example, as you and I do not. Do you know what is the most characteristic thing about a violet? That it is modest or humble? Anybody knows that. That it is blue? Thousands of flowers are blue—though if Shakespeare wished to mention its color he would likely specify in some poetic way the shade of blue, as of the pale wood violet, of which he says it is sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes. But Shakespeare noticed that the most characteristic thing about a violet is that it has a habit of gently nodding on its stem:

> Where oxslips and the nodding violet grows.

Or again:

> As gentle
> As zephyrs blowing below the violet,
> Not wagging his sweet head.

Did you ever notice that? Do you know just how many spots there are in the bottom of a cowslip? Shakespeare did:

> On her left breast
> A mole cinque-spotted like the crimson drops
> I' the bottom of a cowslip.

Scores of examples of this nicety of vision might be cited if I were talking of Shakespeare's poetry, but what I am now insisting is that his larger observation of men and things was always active. It not only sees, it interprets what he sees. Shakespeare's temperament, we feel sure, was always alert and eager. He lived with men, he knew men, was spontaneously interested in and sympathized with them.

Consider his humor, for a man's humor is generally a pretty good test of his attitude toward his fellow men and his enjoyment of life. What a genial and kindly humor it is. He does not care much for loud and empty mirth; there is not in his plays much of that laughter that is like the crackling of thorns under a pot. His best comedies, like "As You Like It," seem an expression of the full, healthy joyousness of living. But while his humor of

course usually plays about some of the manifold contrasts and inconsistencies of this varied life of ours, his humorous people are never mere eccentrics or freaks; they all belong to our family. We must own them as men and brothers. There are in the company, for example, a good many of those people whom we, when we see them in real life, are apt to classify complacently as stupid people —Mrs. Quickly, Dogberry, Verges, Bardolph, Shallow, Slender, and all the rest. Yet Shakespeare never assumes any air of superiority to them. He vastly enjoys their company, and, what is more to the point, you are sure they enjoyed his. Often his humor is so touched with kindly human sympathy that it seems to shade imperceptibly into pathos. You remember old Justice Shallow's reminiscences with Cousin Silence, "Jesu, Jesu, the mad days that I have spent. And to see how many of my old acquaintances are dead!" "We shall all follow," says Silence. "Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure. Death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die. How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford fair?" And everybody remembers Mrs. Quickly's account of the last moments of Jack Falstaff. "After I saw him fumble with the sheets and play with flowers, and smile upon his fingers' ends, I knew there was but one way; for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields."

Not that Shakespeare's humor never has a satiric quality, but he generally reserves his satire for those people who are somehow hollow, who assume an inflated dignity or bigness—Bottom, old Polonius, Malvolio, ancient Pistol, and their like. These people he laughs at, rather than laughs with. What Carlyle somewhere calls "pretentious ineptitude" was evidently very amusing to Shakespeare, but also somewhat annoying. Yet even here his humor is not bitter or cynical. The generally cynical temper seemed a tragic thing to Shakespeare—as you can see in his Timon —a thing to be pitied or feared.

Are there then no types of character that this man really hated? Well, not many; the man who really knows men and women as Shakespeare did will find something to touch his sympathy in almost every life. "Hate that man," said Charles Lamb once, "how could I hate him? Don't I know him?" Yet there

were men whom Shakespeare, I think, regarded with unmixed aversion, almost hatred. Who is the worst man in Shakespeare's world? Everybody will say without much hesitation, Iago. Why? Because Iago is the embodiment of absolute selfishness. Envy and the love of personal power make him blind to innocence and contemptuous of virtue. A hard, deceitful, scheming, merciless man. Goneril and Regan, in "Lear," belong to the same class. Now a nature like Shakespeare's, open and free, as Ben Jonson called it, finds such characters as these intolerable.

Do we find any confirmation in the dramas for that practical wisdom, that power of self-control which seems so certain in the meager records of Shakespeare's London life? I think we can. I find that in Shakespeare's world it is just this practical wisdom, this poise and self-control that insures success and consideration. Says Hamlet to Horatio:

> Blest are those
> Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled
> That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
> To sound what stop she please. Give me that man
> That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
> In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,
> As I do thee.

Now this type of man, strong but well balanced, self-controlled, cannot be the hero of tragedy and not often of comedy, and so we shall not expect to find many examples of the type in Shakespeare's plays. Yet there are such men, and they always in some way seem to have Shakespeare's approval and admiration. Horatio himself is an example, and Theseus in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and the banished Duke in "As You Like It," and best of all, Henry the Fifth. It has been often said that Henry the Fifth was Shakespeare's favorite hero; and there is some reason to think so. He has drawn out his story as Prince and King through three plays, and in the choruses of "Henry V," speaking for once as if in his own person, has given him such enthusiastic praise that it seems probable we have in Henry a type of character Shakespeare himself admired. Now Henry, while he is Prince Hal, cares little for decorum and throws himself heartily enough into the humors of Falstaff and of the Boar's Head. Yet in his

wildest days he never quite forgets his duty; and when the call for manly action comes, he is ready, throws off—perhaps rather too cruelly—Falstaff and his roistering companions and takes up the duties of kingship. Yet he keeps always a certain boyish exuberance of spirits, he likes all sorts of people and, though king, is still a good fellow. But he never loses mastery of himself, he never makes mistakes, he is never impatient, he never gets angry. I think there is a great deal of William Shakespeare in this King Henry the Fifth.

And if this poise and self-control is a condition of success, the lack of it means failure—often tragic failure. In the great tragedies of Shakespeare you will find that the catastrophe comes either from a lack of passion as motive power or from a failure to direct and control such passion. Characters as unlike as Hamlet and Mark Antony both go down because their blood and judgment are not well commingled.

But, you will ask, is this all we know of the man Shakespeare, this energetic, facile, kindly, marvelously observant, but rather mundane man that we see in the meager records of his life? Hardly. The deepest things in any man's thinking and feeling, certainly in any poet's thought and feeling, are not seen in the story of his outward business and affairs. Yet up to about 1600, when Shakespeare was, you remember, thirty-six years of age, this is the type of man seen in his work. For, with the exception of the young man's romantic tragedy of love and death, "Romeo and Juliet," the work is all comedy, dealing mostly with the lighter and more joyous sides of life, or history, in which the fate of the individual is involved in the great sweep of national affairs. Shakespeare, one thinks, as yet has not much considered the deeper and darker problems of life. But then suddenly his work changes. The comedy darkens in "Measure for Measure" and "All's Well," and then for some five or six years he writes tragedy, and nothing but tragedy. Why this change in the temper of his work we do not know, but of one thing we may be quite sure; it was no good easy man, altogether unstirred by stronger passions and unvexed by obstinate questions, that wrote that great series of tragedies, "Hamlet," "Othello," "Macbeth," "Lear," "Antony," "Timon."

There are some indications, especially in the sonnets, of some emotional agitation in Shakespeare's private life about that time. But setting aside all mere conjecture, it is certainly not improbable that something in the intimate personal experience of Shakespeare during those years may have forced his thought upon the great problems of sin and suffering. I have often thought it strange and perhaps significant that the line of tragedies begins with "Hamlet," the only play in which the tragedy is not external but internal, the tragedy of doubt and skepticism that puzzles the will and benumbs all our active faculties. It is as if at the outset of this tragic period Shakespeare was dwelling in thought not so much upon the external pain and sorrow in this unintelligible world, as upon the meaning and mystery of it all. No other play is so full of spiritual doubt and wonder; no other play suggests so many of those problems for which every thoughtful man sometimes yearns to find solution; no other play is so enfolded in an atmosphere of the supernatural. And in all the later tragedies the interest is primarily ethical, not external; the catastrophe is never merely physical or melodramatic. These tragedies are so supremely great not because of any thrilling dramatic situation or harrowing exhibition of passion, but because of their absolute truth to the deepest and most solemn laws of our human nature. Nowhere has Shakespeare so clearly shown the sternness and sanity of his moral judgments. Sometimes, as in "Macbeth" or "Antony and Cleopatra," he shows us the inevitable ruin that follows unbridled passion, whether of ambition or of lust. These plays are not didactic in purpose. Shakespeare is no preacher. He is simply holding the mirror up to nature. And he has none of that cheap morality that is afraid to tell the truth. In the play of "Antony and Cleopatra," for example—one of the most powerful of his works—he knows that Antony did not lose the world for nothing. He knows that the pleasures of sin, though they be but for a season, are very real pleasures while they last. And he makes us see it too. As we read, something of the magic of this great queen of the world falls over us. We understand the enchantment that is upon Antony, and when we understand that we cannot stand aloof in cool indifference and condemn him. Yet all this dazzle

of the lust of the eyes and the pride of life does not for a moment blind us to the quality of Antony's action, and the inevitable doom which he is every moment nearing. Precisely there resides the tragedy. We see his manhood ebbing away, his iron resolution growing soft and pliant, and "his captain's heart, which in the scuffles of great fights" had "burst the buckles on his breast," losing its soldier's temper, and, warmed no longer by any chaste or temperate affection, bursting at last in shame and despair. There could be no higher proof of Shakespeare's moral steadiness of vision and self-command than his power to depict with even-handed justice at once the charms and the results of sin.

In the other type of tragedy, like "Othello" and "Lear," we have that spectacle, more awful because more unintelligible, of the triumph of guilt and hatred over innocence and nobility. Such plays leave us dazed in wonder and pity; yet feeling through all confusion and agony of soul that purity and truth are supremely beautiful things, better than happiness, better than life. Who would not rather die as Desdemona than live as Iago? In "Lear" it is the old, gray-haired king, the generous Kent, and the heavenly Cordelia that go down before the awful storm of wrong; but, as the dying king bends, blind and crazed, over the lifeless body of his daughter and moans, "Cordelia, Cordelia, stay a little," who does not feel that in all the defeats and contradictions of this unintelligible world the only thing of priceless value is a pure and heroic life?

This great series of tragedies certainly proves that the deeper and darker phases of human life were passing through the study of Shakespeare's imagination in the years from 1600 to 1606, but I do not see that they present anything really inconsistent with the conception of Shakespeare's character that we form from the record of those years or from a study of his earlier work. They enlarge and deepen that conception; they do not contradict it. Nay, in one respect they confirm it, for, if I mistake not, there is indication even in these tragedies of that breadth of sympathy, that sense of fellowship with all men, which is one of the most obvious traits of the man. An unflinching recognition of the strictest moral laws is not inconsistent with a pity for the victims of

their violation. Consider Shakespeare's bad men and women. For only two or three, as I have said, has he an unmixed hatred, but Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra, the King in Hamlet, Shylock, and all the rest, it is only with some touch of charity for them and pity for their sin and ruin that we leave them at the last. It was in this large, hopeful, and kindly temper, surely befitting the greatest of dramatists, that Shakespeare looked out upon this world.

I think one is glad to know that this tragic mood was not dominant in the latest work or the latest years of Shakespeare's life. After about twenty years' connection with the stage in London, the purpose we think he had cherished during all those years was fulfilled and Shakespeare came home to Stratford-on-Avon. Sir Sidney Lee thinks it was in 1611. Some students think it may have been a year or two before that. In fact, his return was probably gradual, his visits to Stratford growing more frequent as he gradually gave up his connection with the theater in London; and by 1611 we may believe he was settled for the rest of his life in New Place with his wife and daughters. Now it was pretty certainly in the year 1610–11 that Shakespeare wrote the three plays I think we love best of all, "Cymbeline," "The Winter's Tale," and "The Tempest." These plays are not tragedies, nor are they exactly comedies either. They are plays of rest after struggle, of reconciliation after suspicion, of home and finality. In two of them—"Cymbeline" and "The Winter's Tale"—the central character is a wife, cruelly suspected by her husband but winning back at last by unwavering fidelity the trust that has always been deserved. Imogen and Hermione are the crown of womanhood in Shakespeare's world. Then these three plays picture, as never before in Shakespeare's pages, the coy and gentle charm of girlhood, not now with the rapture of the lover, but with the wise and tender solicitude of a father; it is not Romeo and Juliet, but Prospero and Miranda, Leontes and Perdita. And, furthermore, these plays are redolent of the charm of country life, of green fields and gardens and flowers. We are in the country again, as in the days of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and Perdita's garden is even lovelier than the bank whereon sometime

Titania slept. The plays are as wise as ever; and Shakespeare's grasp of character as firm and his sense of beauty I think deeper than in the earlier plays; but the glow of passion is cooled and all three plays, whatever the suspicion or harshness in the earlier acts, all end as with a deep and long-drawn breath of quiet content.

Now I am well aware of the folly of trying to find in Shakespeare's plays any close transcript of the events of his personal career; yet no one can convince me that the general tone of all these last plays is not that of Shakespeare's renewed family life at Stratford-on-Avon. I find no sure evidence that there was ever any estrangement or jealousy between Shakespeare and his wife during his long years in London; but if there had been, I am sure it was over by 1610. That such a play as "The Winter's Tale" could have been written in that society which the experience of Solomon pronounces worse than "a continual dropping in a very rainy day"—that would be stranger than any miracle. No, I feel sure that the record of those latest years, as interpreted by these plays, may make us certain that Shakespeare, like Wordsworth's Happy Warrior, was after all, certainly in these later years,

> a Soul whose master-bias leans
> To homefelt pleasures and to gentle scenes,

and that however wide the circuit of his work, he closes it at last with pictures of those affections that bloom fair in the garden of home.

The image we can thus form of the man must at best be somewhat vague, lacking in those specific and picturesque features in which character is most easily read; but I think we can be sure of its main outlines—a positive, well-balanced man, of strong passions under firm control, genial and interested in all sorts of people, with marvelous powers of observation and an imagination to interpret all he saw into lasting forms of life and beauty. And I think one's conception of Shakespeare's character loses something of breadth and truth when we try to separate the man from the poet, as I have half unconsciously been doing. For we tend to forget that there were not two Shakespeares. The poet who ruled a vast demesne

on the heights of Parnassus was the same man who owned a house and corner lot in Stratford-on-Avon. The dramatist whose speech delights us by an affluence of power and beauty such as none of his contemporaries could approach, is the same man who could lean over the gate of New Place of a morning to jest with Dogberry or chat with Goodman Verges. And in opposition to all that has been said about the impossibility of knowing anything of William Shakespeare, I must say that I think one rises from a study of his life and work with something like a sense of personal acquaintance with the man. One feels at least, as old Ben Jonson said, that he was honest and of an open and free nature, a man to know.

One other question there is which on this day[1] we cannot forbear to ask. Was Shakespeare a religious man? We get no answer from the recorded facts of his life. The tradition that he disliked the Puritans, based mostly on a misinterpretation of some one or two pages in "Twelfth Night" and "All's Well," and the tradition that he died a Roman Catholic, first heard of a hundred years after his death in the talk of a gossipy clergyman, are both valueless. I think the answer to the question must depend on the meaning we give to the question itself. If religion be only, as Matthew Arnold once defined it, morality touched with emotion, then we may perhaps venture to call Shakespeare a religious man. He certainly recognized the nature and the imperative demands of morality; he saw that the highest values in life are always moral values. We may be sure also that he was a reverent man. We shall find in his plays no flippant or contemptuous references to religious belief or practice, save on the lips of men who were themselves shallow or base. More than this, there is evidence enough in such plays as "Hamlet" that Shakespeare had pondered the meanings and the mystery of life. He could have been no stranger to those thoughts that are beyond the reaches of our souls. What solutions he ever reached for those deepest problems that vex the thinking soul, we do not know; it seems to me likely that he put them aside as insoluble, and in his later years sought quiet and

[1] This paper was first delivered as an address in celebration of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death.—L. B. G.

content within the realm of positive knowledge. We may well be slow in pronouncing upon any man's religion; that is a matter between himself and his God. But we may not uncharitably say that in reading Shakespeare's pages we long for one thing, and for one thing only. With this all-embracing knowledge that seems to include almost the whole realm of human nature, could we but have a little faith. If the vision that saw so clearly and justly all the facts of human life could have had some faith in things unseen. Surely of such faith the saintly Cordelia, the noble Hermione, the gentle Desdemona, the Hamlet of Luther's Wittenberg might have known something. But among the very latest words of the great magician who created them all are these, which sound with a solemn pathos down the centuries:

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

He was true to the facts of knowledge only. He showed the human soul as it is; he carried it through all the tangled web of circumstance, the struggles of good and evil, the joys and pains that make up this life of ours here, quite down to the moment when the fevered play is quite played out; "the rest is silence." We need one other book beside our Shakespeare; we need our Bible.

SHAKESPEARE THE MORALIST

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SHAKESPEARE is the King of Literature. By common consent he is acknowledged to be without a peer across the glorious centuries of human endeavor. He is preeminently the ten-talent man. Measured not merely by his contemporaries but by the great who went before him and those who have come after him, he is recognized gladly and unhesitatingly as one of earth's master-spirits, defining for us God's measure of a human being. Praise of him is so extravagant that were it not sincere it would be pitifully ridiculous. Swinburne's encomium is accepted by some as sober truth when he says, "If nothing were left of Shakespeare but the single tragedy of King Lear it would still be plain as it is now that he was the greatest man that ever lived." Men do not question his rightful claim to preeminence. They accept him as they do the sun, flooding the skies with light; or as Mount Everest, topmost ice-garmented peak of Himalaya's ranges. He is the definition of a "genius." His productions are the glory and marvel of literature. Of them it has been said, "They are the richest, the purest, the wisest, the fairest that genius uninspired ever produced." The race is indeed glorified in him. All people are his debtors, since, prodigal of riches as is springtime, he has dowered all with his affluence. All the centuries shall sing his praise because none can outgrow him. After three centuries men are surer of his right to literary immortality than ever before.

For this acknowledged supremacy there is abundant reason. Not by accident has his majestic reputation come to him. It is an achievement. He has earned his glory among men. They honor him because they recognize in him sublime qualities that have capacitated him to be a world-teacher.

His sheer mentality amazes us. His was the quintessence of intellectuality. All things seem to have revealed their secrets to his eager, Titan mind. He knew life in all of its soul movements,

its enthusiasms, its passions, its emotions, its aspirations, its foibles, its weaknesses, its struggles, its defects, its victories, its guilt, its tragedies, its transfigurations. He could read the heart of a man as if it had been an open volume. All types of character have apparently whispered to him their inner secrets. Kings, queens, courtiers, fools, witches, adventurers, saints, bigots, panderers, tyrants, peasants, toilers—all have revealed to him the secrets of their hearts. His six hundred dramatic personalities stand out from his pages with all the reality of historical beings. Indeed, as do the persons in the parables of Christ, they seem to be more real than life itself, because they are elemental, complete, full-orbed types of humanity. As a writer has said, "He lived a life more crowded with ideas, passions, relations, and events than any potentate the world has ever seen. He projected himself into almost all the varieties of human character, and in imagination lived the life of each. No other man has ever seen human life from so many points of view. He knew what was in man because he felt it in himself."

He is at home in all ages. In "Julius Cæsar," "Coriolanus," and "Antony and Cleopatra," he has caught the spirit of imperial yet decadent Rome. Glorious Greece lives again in "Pericles," "Troilus and Cressida," "Timon of Athens." Merry England is faithfully photographed in "Richard III," "Henry VIII," "Merry Wives of Windsor." Italy's customs and institutions and history are faithfully portrayed in the "Merchant of Venice," "Othello," "Romeo and Juliet," "Measure for Measure." Indeed, as Ben Jonson exclaimed, "He is not of one age, but for all time." Just because of his range of sympathy and keenness of insight into life's varieties and his marvelous power of clear presentation of noble thought, no writer except the Bible authors has given to the world so much that is wise and beautiful and sublime and dependable and enduring.

And it is just this tremendous power of dealing with things fundamental that makes Shakespeare the great moralist. Never would his reputation and influence have been so marvelous and abiding had he not dealt with all the sublimities that inhere in the human soul, and which come to their expression in the manifold

and complex thoughts and deeds of mankind. How pitifully superficial the criticism that he is not a religious writer. Of course he made no pretense at being a technical theologian, expatiating upon some cherished item of a creed. That was not within his province as a dramatist. Never did he attempt, as did Tennyson or Milton or Browning, in separate poems, to amplify some particular religious belief. But the reader who does not detect in him a fundamental religious instinct has missed his genius. There is not a cardinal Christian doctrine to which he does not give repeated utterances. He is saturated with the Bible. Having been trained as a lad under the careful tutelage of a Puritan teacher, he imbibed that reverence and love for the Bible that makes it appear by direct quotation and by allusion in hundreds of his passages. He was preeminently a religious man, as do testify the countless references to God and Christ. Faith in God is always exalted. Trust in his providential leading is repeatedly claimed. Never does he speak irreverently or frivolously of those central beliefs of the heart that are vital to the religious life. Bishop Charles Wordsworth says, "Take the entire range of English literature, put together our best authors who have written upon subjects not professedly religious or theological, and we shall not find, I believe, in them all united, so much evidence of the Bible having been read and used as we find in Shakespeare alone." In "Hamlet" alone, for example, there are nearly one hundred passages that are Bible allusions. Something like one thousand parallelisms, as Mudge points out, have been discovered in his plays. To all the fundamental Christian doctrines he makes reference repeatedly, until he reveals himself, as some one says, "the ardent teacher of Providence, future retribution and reward, the inevitable consequences of sin, life after death." Surely we must believe that he honored Christ. Nobly he speaks regarding one of his characters who "gave his pure soul unto his Captain Christ, under whose colors he had fought so long."

That he believed profoundly and implicitly in immortality is gloriously testified to in the opening paragraph of his last will and testament, which reads, "I commend my soul into the hands of God, my Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the

merit of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting." With childlike simplicity does he refer to "Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins." Taking him all in all therefore, no error is made regarding him when he is referred to as "decidedly a Christian poet."

But the supreme reason for Shakespeare's glory and influence lies in his sovereignty as a moral teacher. Not the brilliance of his genius, nor the luxuriousness of his diction, nor the breadth of his understanding, but his strict and unswerving loyalty to ethical principles is what makes him the world-acknowledged master. Jonson in his interesting biographical sketch asserts that Shakespeare "never writes with a moral purpose." But, mark you, never does he violate or disregard the holy moralities. As a dramatist, to be sure, his business was never to deal in monographs extolling any single ethical virtue. His art and his skill and his loyalty go deeper. Never is there absent from one of his dramas the moral background. He writes as one who can never forget that certain things are unequivocally and eternally true and vital. And just because of this quality does he transcend so greatly some other dramatists and poets upon whom mankind showered its praise. Great as Goethe was in some respects, the world has never trusted him. His "Faust" in parts seems almost like the glorification of lasciviousness. It is not strange that a distinguished critic said that we are afraid to read Goethe. The German poet himself, vitiated by ethical laxity, could not see straight morally. He is only a modern pagan, ill concealing his ethical aberrations. The brilliant Byron? Some of his poetry is as filthy as a city sewer—rottenness everywhere! Art for smut's sake! Poor Burns! We have not forgotten regarding him that some of his poems are so hopelessly vile, so utterly depraved, that to send them through the United States mail is a misdemeanor. How gloriously Shakespeare lives above these! Never is his consummate skill dedicated to the glorification of the prurient or lecherous or debasing.

Nor can any more searching questions be asked of a man of genius whose works are to have circulation among the multitudes than these: What does he think of God's laws? Does he honor the pure, the good, the noble, the worthy, the spiritual? Does the

soul rise from communion with him, strengthened, purged, nerved, cheered, ennobled; or have life's majestic ideals been shattered, the standards lowered, the insidious poisons injected, the tastes cheapened, the righteous will weakened, the love of God withered? How does he treat those life sublimities which slowly, painfully through tragic experiences, through tremendous soul-agonies, the race has come to recognize as the majestic laws of God and the indispensable principles of human happiness and welfare? Does he laugh at them as prudishness; does he sneer at them as Puritanic; does he deride them as irrelevant limitations upon his freedom? Does to him virtue seem spurious and vice appear lovely? Is evil welcomed and good rejected? Does chastity appear a light thing and honor a commodity to be sold to the highest bidder? Are honesty and uprightness, faithfulness and sincerity, pity and gentleness, courage and generosity, justice and mercy, only fortuitous and irrelevant? Does to him vice seem anything but ugly; cowardice and jealousy, villainy and tyranny, rage and animality, anything but hideous and odious and fatal? Then beware! Then count him a menace, an insidious foe, a secret enemy! The Athenians charged Socrates with being, through his teachings, a corrupter of youth. A grievous allegation, if true! Even the pagan Grecians saw that to undermine morality meant destruction not merely to the individual but to the state.

How does our glorious Shakespeare meet the test? Never in the slightest degree do the eternal virtues suffer at his hands. He is guardian of man's highest interests. He is literature's supreme moralist, exalted enough, in many respects, to be counted as coworker with some of the Scripture writers. No author so splendidly supplements the wisdom of the Bible. Many of his majestic moral aphorisms are veritable footnotes on holy Scripture. Being a photographer of actual life, he could not but make at times licentious allusions, and record vice and infamy and evil in many of its hideous forms. But never did he defend, mitigate or extol these. Never does he fail to make the soul feel that these are fatal aberrations, hideous abnormalities, despicable and injurious defects. Does he depict crime? He makes us shudder at it. He paints it with unerring moral accuracy as repulsive and suicidal.

Never does he strike a false moral note. He preserves a pure art. As a critic says, "He flattered no bad passion, disguised no vice in the garb of virtue, trifled with no just and generous principle. While causing us to laugh at folly, and shudder at crime, he still preserves our love for our fellow-beings and our reverence for ourselves." Knowing the moral law, he gave it the place of supreme sovereignty in life. Nor could he ever have been the world's master literary teacher, had he not thus enthroned morality.

Briefly let us note several respects in which he thus extols the moral verities. Never has there been in literature a more passionate exponent of the inexorableness of the moral law. What Paul wrote in a single sentence, "God is not mocked; what a man soweth, that shall he also reap," Shakespeare interpreted throughout his tremendous plots. Disobedience to the majestic love of God, written in the heart of all mankind, can be attended by nothing but disaster. God's judgments never go astray. Shakespeare delineates many black characters, ugly in selfishness, stubborn in perversity, hideous in abnormality. He knows how bold and reckless and defiant sin may become. But never does sin escape the dire results of its unholiness. Over and over again the sublime principle is illustrated. In "King Richard the Third" he declares:

> The great King of kings
> Hath in the table of his law commanded
> That thou shalt do no murder . . .
> Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand,
> To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

What is the story of Othello but the record of wild jealousy's pitiable harvest, as the otherwise magnanimous Moor is incited to suspicion and abuse of his dutiful Desdemona by the revengeful, deceitful Iago? Duped by the villainous Iago, Othello loses those finer graces that make him the ideal lover as his heart hardens with suspicion against his innocent wife, falsely accused of illicit love, until in bitter resentment he suffocates her. Of course we cannot but despise the malignant Iago, who must pay for his villainy with his own life. We cannot but sympathize with the deluded, repentant, heart-broken Othello as we hear him cry, before he plunges the dagger into his own heart,

> Whip me, ye devils,
> From the possession of the heavenly sight,
> Blow me about in winds, roast me in sulphur;
> Wash me in steeped-down gulfs of liquid fire!
> O Desdemon! dead, Desdemon! dead!
> Oh! Oh!

Always do we know regarding Shakespeare's plots that "things come out right." Coriolanus, haughty, defiant, oppressive, tyrant of Rome, must be ruthlessly killed. Shylock, Jewish money lender, grasping, calculating, revengeful, bloodthirsty, loses everything—daughter, home, possessions. Never does Shakespeare depict lust and lechery except to bring against it the wrath of God. Hear the youthful Prince Hamlet, conscious of the vileness of his inconstant mother, as he laments,

> Such an act,
> That blurs the blush and grace of modesty,
> Calls virtue, hypocrite; takes off the rose
> From the fine forehead of an innocent love,
> And sets a blister there; makes marriage vows
> As false as dicer's oaths.
> O, shame, where is thy blush!

Never does lasciviousness prosper, whether in degenerate Antony and profligate Cleopatra, or brutish Falstaff, or incestuous Claudius.

With tragic accuracy the inexorableness of the moral law is portrayed in that masterpiece of Shakespeare's, "King Lear." Here are mingled in tragic contrast purest nobility and ignominious baseness, sublimest unselfishness and blackest treachery. Nowhere such awful contrasts as between the aged, lonely Lear—"every inch a king";—Gloster, stalwart, unfailing friend to needy sovereign; Kent, devoted protector of the maddened king; Edmund, treacherous villain; Cordelia, noble, true daughter of the aged monarch; Regan and Goneril, "she-bears" (as one writer has called them), effusive, pretentious, hypocritical, cruel as cutting north wind, bereft of all natural love, impelling their weakened father into the insanity that drives him to the wild, storm-drenched moor. Shakespeare has been criticised for the unhappy outcome of this play and has been accused of gloomy pessimism. Natural

that the two cruel daughters should perish ignominiously by the sword and poison, but that the beauteous angel Cordelia, fairest of all Shakespeare's women, should be permitted to be hanged in prison by order of the wolfish Goneril—this is so much contrary to poetic justice that Tate, toward the end of the seventeenth century, rewrote the conclusion of the play and gave it a happier ending; which version continued for one hundred and sixty years until men began to see that Shakespeare's conviction was true not merely to life but to theology. As Professor Stevenson has written, "This age is one with Shakespeare in its recognition of the law that somehow ties up in one, guilt and folly, and it might be said, ignorance. This day says that man is inevitably bound up in the net of social relations." As Horton states, "The play declares the important moral that villainy is never at a stop, that crimes lead to crimes, and at last terminates in ruins."

That Shakespeare in his easy-going century should have been the advocate of temperance is greatly to be wondered at. No dramatist has more nearly caught the spirit of modern Christianity regarding intemperance. Hear him as he says, "O thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee . . . devil. O that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains! That we should with joy, revel, pleasure, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts."

What a galaxy of noble women did Shakespeare portray. Indeed, he is preeminently the glorifier of womanhood. He recognizes them, at their normal, as holy and chaste; conservers of the best in life; builders of the beautiful and good; inspirers to nobility and honor in the hearts of men. How winsomely attractive are Rosalind, Portia, Juliet, Olivia, Imogen, Desdemona, Hermione. Does he occasionally delineate a bad woman like Regan or Hamlet's mother or Lady Macbeth? Is it not for the purpose of showing the unnaturalness and infrequency of such characters among womankind and to depict the unspeakable ruin wrought by such as have lost their glory? As Mudge has said, in fitting phrase, "No woman has approached Shakespeare in the purity, sweetness, refinement, and elevation of his feminine characters."

Always does Shakespeare exalt man. In his eyes man is never anything but glorious. Always is he amplifying the Bible statement that man is created in the image and likeness of God. He implicitly believes in humanity's greatness. Never does he valuate man as does the materialist—a bundle of blind sensibilities and uncontrollable appetites and wild impulses. He does not deny that man may be dethroned through unrighteousness and enslaved by sin, but as philosopher and theologian he acclaims him God's masterpiece. If he depicts an Iago, a Caliban, a Richard III, an Edmund, a Cleon, it is only that against the background of their vices and weaknesses the real man may be made to stand forth transcendent and glorious. "What a piece of work is man, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculties! In form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god, the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals."

Nor was Shakespeare a fatalist. His spiritual intuitions and his superabundant common sense saved him from such a calamity. For some individuals and nations the belief has had a strange fascination, as a certain writer declares. The astrologer, with implicit faith, looked to the heavens to discover what was to be his fate. His horoscope determined his life and destiny. No escape from this. Futile any protest, for the iron laws of necessity could never be broken. Man is helpless in their grip as an atom of dust caught in the driving hurricane. Not for him to carry out his own high purposes and plans according to worthy desire and holy aspiration. His destiny ruled with an arbitrariness against which it was insanity to struggle. By the unbreakable forces of necessity were the events of human experience so held together that man was a slave, not a master. Everything was predetermined. Man is the victim of his circumstances, the prey of superior forces. Indeed, the very gods in whom he foolishly believes either plot against him or are indifferent to his happiness. His deeds have no moral significance, being only mechanical. He thinks and acts as he must. He is a mere automaton—listless, careless, unmoral, irresponsible.

But no greater calamity can come to individual or race than

to live under the thralldom of such a delusion. Still it has persisted, from the time of Sophocles the poet to Haeckel the German materialistic philosopher. But let a nation be shackled by the false creed and its degeneration is inevitable. Permit an individual to hold it, then excuse is found for all kinds of weakness and irregularity; and justification for all varieties of perversity and animality and degradation and excess and sin. The sense of moral responsibility is utterly destroyed. Why should a man struggle against evil tendencies; why battle against degenerate appetencies; why endeavor to enthrone spiritual realities; why believe in the supremacy of the good, if he must believe that a blind, unreasoning, mechanical "fate" is dominant over him? Then all of man's spiritual life is an empty sham, a bold delusion. He is robbed of all ethical significance and degraded to the level of the lifeless machine or the soulless animal.

But Shakespeare will not tolerate the rank heresy. Everywhere he is the preacher of man's moral freedom, his spiritual accountability, his religious responsibility. His evil and his good are his own choice. His character is product of his own desire. Therefore, Shakespeare makes Cassius to say in "Julius Cæsar," "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves, that we are underlings." Hear how he makes Edward say in "King Lear," "This is the exultant foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behavior—we make guilty of our disasters, the sun, the moon, the stars; as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on." Thus does Shakespeare restore mental sanity to a distraught world. So does he join in the chorus of Christian teachers who make sin a matter of personal choice, a result of the voluntary degradation of the human volition.

The common graces and virtues, so necessary to happiness of life, he nobly extols. He hates hypocrisy, deceit, brutality, indecency, ugliness, cruelty, gluttony. He loved the good, the kind, the unselfish, the generous, the sincere, the pitying, the forgiving, the spiritual. Who does not know and love his exalted eulogy of mercy?

> The quality of mercy is not strained;
> It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed;
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes;
> 'Tis mightiest in the mightiest! It becomes
> The throned monarch better than his crown.
> His scepter shows the force of temporal power,
> The attribute to awe and majesty
> Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings.
> But mercy is above this scepter'd sway;
> It is enthroned in the hearts of kings;
> And earthly power doth then show likest God's
> When mercy seasons justice.—Consider this
> That in the course of justice none of us
> Should see salvation; we do pray for mercy;
> And that same prayer doth teach us all to render
> The deeds of mercy.

And where in all of literature is there a more majestic exponent of the sovereignty of conscience? He believed that in conscience God brooded over the soul for its redemption. To obey it meant benediction and prosperity. To disregard it meant crushing ruin and heavy curse! It is the appeal to conscience that makes "Macbeth" one of the climax productions of all the ages and one of the mightiest contributions toward morality that has ever moved the soul of man. Who can read it without fearing sin with a new and deadly hatred, and without a new sense of the awful seriousness of the deliberate transgression of God's holy law? Picture these three significant personalities: Duncan, king of Scotland, unsuspecting, trustful in the friendship of his once faithful general, Macbeth; Macbeth, with nature changed by hellish ambition into a plotter, then a murderer of his sovereign; Lady Macbeth, bloody as Jezebel, ruthless, ambitious, fired by lust of place and spirit of revenge, nagging her husband into his bloody deed. But what consequences followed the guilty pair, who, having violated the law of God, come under the tragic disapproval of their own accusing souls until life becomes a veritable perdition! Lost forever the prized things which lent joy to their existence. Gone the kingship for Macbeth; present always gloomy remorse whose black pall never lifted; poignant inner pain, excruciating agony of self-condemnation until life itself was a crushing burden. Listen

to the remorseful Macbeth, smitten by his own perfidy, as he says:

> Methought I heard a voice cry "Sleep no more."
> Macbeth does murder sleep; the innocent sleep,
> Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care.
> The death of each day's life, sore labor's bath,
> Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
> Chief nourisher in life's feast.
> Macbeth shall sleep no more.

Then he adds:

> Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood clean from my hand?
> No, this my hand will rather the multitudinous sea incarnadine.

Hear him as he says again:

> Had I but died an hour before this chance;
> I had lived a blessed time! for from this instant
> There's nothing serious in mortality.
> All is but toys; renown and grace is dead,
> The wine of life is drunk, and the mere lees
> Is left this vault to brag of.

Nor does the despicable Lady Macbeth escape. Caught in the fatal grip of a wild insanity induced by the burning recollection of the foul deed she had incited, when she gleefully had clutched in her hands the dagger dripping with Duncan's blood, she cries, as she looks at her hands:

> Out, damned spot; out, I say!
> Here's the smell of blood still. All the perfume of Arabia will
> Not sweeten this little hand! O, O, O!

No help for her in her wild raving, as Macbeth well knows, when he says to the physician called to attend the maniac queen:

> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
> Raze over the written troubles of the brain;
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote,
> Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?

What a climax to the tremendous tragedy, when having heard that the queen had taken her own life, Macbeth cries out, as he

goes to the battlefield, from which Macduff is to bear his head upon a pole:

> Out, out, brief candle! Life's but a walking shadow. It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Nor, in conclusion, can be overlooked regarding the supremacy of conscience that passage wherein the guilty Claudius, uncle to Hamlet, and murderer of the king, ruefully cries:

> O, my offense is rank, it smells to heaven.
> It hath the primal eldest curse upon it.
> A brother's murder! Pray can I not,
> Though inclination be sharp as well,
> My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent.
> What if this cursed hand
> Were thicker than itself with brothers' blood,
> Is there not rain enough in the sweet heavens
> To wash it white as snow.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> O wretched state!! O, bosom black as death!!
> A limed soul, that struggling to be free
> Art more engaged!

No greater honor can come to any human being than this, that having dedicated his intellect to God, humanity has thereby been taught to reverence and obey his holy will. This is Shakespeare's supreme distinction. As moralist, he has been humanity's teacher, to the glory of God.

WHO WAS THE SHAKESPEARE OF HOLLAND? AN ESSAY IN COMPARATIVE BIOGRAPHY

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SHAKESPEARE: *His mind is the horizon beyond which at present we do not see.*—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

What chiefly differentiates Shakespeare is this (to quote the French critic of English literature), *he attained life.* Emerson also speaks of Shakespeare as a book of life. A slavish quest of either accuracy of statement or beauty of expression usually ends in quenching the spirit and giving us "a body rather than a life": —a tabulation accurate, but dead: specimens spiked on their respective descriptive cards: glass flowers having the color, but lacking that subtle aroma of life which is worth everything else. This is the common end of overstudy.

> So study evermore is overshot,
> While it doth study to have what it would
> It doth forget the things it should.
> And when it hath the thing it hunteth most
> 'Tis won as towns with fire: so won, so lost.
> —*Love's Labor's Lost.*

Shakespeare on the contrary, by his intuitive genius, peoples his world with living beings, who fairly breathe and move before the eye. His men and women are realities, not fictions. They hate and love, fear and disdain—in short, every human passion and feeling and every phase and degree of the same is here expressed naturally. It is as if you were not reading but looking and listening. It is this which leads Schlegel to call Shakespeare the master of reality.

> He holds the mirror up to
> Nature and shows Virtue her own
> Feature, scorn her own image and
> The very age and body of the time
> His form and pressure. —*Hamlet.*

> I set you up a glass
> Wherein you may see the inmost part of you. —*Ibid.*

Though Shakespeare thus deals with character he does not caricature. He uses no living models. He never erects a character for the sake of throwing epithets at it. The character shames himself if he is to be shamed and his creator is saved the task. Far from making sport of man's infirmities, which he portrays with invincible fidelity and carries in each instance to its legitimate and unescapable end, one finds oneself sharing the poet's pity of it all. Thus over his work is the "halo of sympathy."

As in the ultimate analysis human nature is one and the same everywhere and in all times, the gift to search out the human heart in one age or land opens every age and land. So Shakespeare is preeminently universal. All lands and times alike are his. Everyone knows Coleridge's characterization—"thousand-souled," sometimes quoted "myriad-minded." Yet as the ocean is one so in his "oceanic mind" there is "multitudinous unity." The source of this unity has already been indicated. It consists in his purpose to express life. So perfectly does he succeed that it matters not what language his works are translated into, his characters express the various human feelings so perfectly that they are recognized at once and each kindles his appropriate emotion in the reader. Shakespeare is perennial as well as universal. It is as if he had an evolution of his own running parallel with that of the human race.

Thus to call a man a Shakespeare is to give him a title of which one may well be proud. Indeed, greater distinction could scarcely be desired. It eclipses glittering and time-honored decorations and high-sounding degrees, though given by eldest seats of learning. In proportion to its size no country in the world boasts a longer list of men who for superlative genius and enduring services to the world might each be called a Shakespeare, than that little country which lies at the mouth of the Rhine like Egypt at the mouth of the Nile.

One remark only before calling this roll. There is no significance in the order taken or in the longer or shorter space devoted to each. The list also is not assumed to be exhaustive. Again, this is not an attempt to relate lives or catalogue works. It is not even an effort to spin a filigree to hold these jewel-lives

together. It is an attempt to show that they stand related by an affinity of their own, strong as it is subtle.

SPINOZA: *Alone! unequaled in his art; exalted above ordinary guilds; without disciples, without citizenship.*—Schleiermacher.

"Spit on that grave! There lies Spinoza!" What a revolution of feeling a hundred years have brought since those words fell from the lips of a minister of religion. Spinoza, too, must needs in his day be cast out of the synagogue and the phrases of his excommunication still emit a sulphurous odor. Religious hatred, as well as some other things, can make strange bedfellows, for in this instance, Christianity and Judaism were at one to consign this "quiet thinker about God" to oblivion. Profane, atheistical, and blasphemous are the terms in which his writings are proscribed. In spite, however, of the determined hostility of organized religion and the odium of popular prejudice, his system has not merely survived, it has proved a magnet, attracting scholars in increasing numbers, until now it admits of question whether it is not the central point of interest in modern philosophy and whether also his answer is not the best yet made to the age-old question, the *summum bonum,* or, as he puts it himself, "Wherein does man's welfare consist and how can it be best attained?"

Long enough before Jefferson had described the inalienable rights of man as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Spinoza had said, "The state has for its end so to act that its citizens should in security develop soul and body and make free use of their reason. The true end of the state is liberty." His thoroughgoing earnestness expresses itself well in the words, "We must neither mourn over things or laugh at them, but understand them." His exactness reflects itself in his saying, "I look at human actions as if I were dealing with lines, surfaces, and bodies." The words have added weight when one remembers that the trade by which he supported himself was that of a lens-maker.

Matthew Arnold has said that those who excommunicated Spinoza remained the "children of Israel," but he became the child of modern Europe. Kuno Fischer has pointed out the debt of Goethe and Lessing to Spinoza, but Schelling, Schleiermacher,

and Hegel are said to be also his debtors, while some have gone so far as to call Spinoza the father of modern thought.

In the ultimate analysis the glory of Spinoza, however, abating nothing of it, is not so much in what he said as in what he was. Whatsoever class name, opprobrious or otherwise, is sought to be attached to him, he was the sincere, unconstrained, diligent thinker and in personal life modest, kind, and pure. He had what is defined as the substance of religion, deliverance from selfishness and devotion to the general. He illustrated the fact that religion does not subsist in metaphysical definitions and propositions, but in a life harmonious with God. With Marcus Aurelius he felt the realness of the divine paternity and with Augustine he found equilibrium in God. Renan says of him that he possessed God-consciousness in a superlative degree and Novalis' familiar but always startling phrase is—"God-intoxicated."

ARMINIUS: *There lived a man whom it was not possible for those who knew him sufficiently to esteem. Those who entertained no esteem for him are such as never knew him well enough to appreciate his merits.*—Peter Bertius.

Three times in the history of the Christian Church the stream of its dogma has, as it were, been locked by one strong personality and finally discharged in new form and channel. The first instance was when Athanasius undertook to define the mode of the divine existence; the resultant was the doctrine of the Trinity. The second was Augustine's attempted definition of human nature and the resultant, in this instance, was the dogmatic affirmation of total depravity. The third epoch was Arminius' definition of the relation subsisting between God and man, resultant upon their variant natures as defined by Athanasius and Augustine. The result was the affirmation of man's personal and essential freedom.

Had Arminius done no more than call a halt to a course of dogmatic and metaphysical reasoning which to those who were pursuing it seemed logically imperative, but which in reality was derogatory to both God and man—making God a "tyrant and executioner" and man at birth so depraved as to be unworthy of God's notice and fit only to "pave hell"—had Arminius only called a halt to all this, as he certainly did, he would have deserved high

praise. But he did not stop with negation. He is constructive. The distinctive feature of his system, as is well known, is the fact that he harmonized as none before him had done the sovereignty of God with the freedom of man. He affirmed on the one hand as opposed to final perseverance the possibility of the believer's fall. On the other hand he affirmed the possibility of a life without sin and the possession of a personal and conscious assurance of acceptance and salvation.

Again, as in the case of Spinoza, Arminius' self is greater than Arminius' system. He showed how to contend earnestly for his faith and yet keep the mind and spirit of the Master. In an age characterized by the asperity both of ignorance and learning and the insults of petulancy, he displayed a phenomenal mildness and forbearance, a uniform candor, courtesy, and dignity.

ERASMUS: *He wrote with a diamond on a golden page.*

As never before or perhaps since, the imperial power and dignity of letters exemplified itself in Erasmus. The cities of Europe greeted him with such public marks of respect as were given to princes. To all intents kings, prelates, and even popes stood in waiting at his door. All factions coveted the prestige of his great name. Perhaps it was to maintain this princely power that he refused to pin himself to either of the great ecclesiastical parties which were dividing Europe. He should be given the benefit of the doubt that he believed he could be more practically serviceable to the Truth if he did not become a partisan. It admits of question, certainly, whether he was not more serviceable by the course which he followed without wavering. However that may be, he could not be coerced either by Rome or Wittemberg. He maintained both his mental equilibrium and moral independence as perhaps not another human being could have done under circumstances similar.

Well deserves he to be recognized as the first man of letters to rise in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire. Yet with him learning was not to be divorced from current human life. If he revived classical learning and polite studies, he did it not for themselves, but that they might have a positive, immediate, and helpful bearing. Again, his Praise of Folly, Colloquies, and

Adagia served the purpose of the modern cartoon. Kings, cardinals, popes, and monks felt and winced at his incising wit. At length he "drove the holy vandals off the stage" and became the rational interpreter of the Scriptures and the founder of a theology which had a wider and, at the same time, a more scientific sweep.

When all is said, however, Erasmus' Greek Testament was probably his greatest contribution to the church and the world. Aside from its intrinsic merit, to even suggest a substitute for the Vulgate, then the Bible of the church, was equivalent to discrediting the church in the world of letters, as later it was to be discredited in the world of science. To show the Latin Bible to be a second-hand and errant text was to destroy the prestige of the clergy at a single blow, for by the Vulgate they stood or fell.

GROTIUS: *The name calls up all that the imagination can conceive of greatness and true fame.*—Bowring.

When Grotius' book on the Law of War and Peace was born an angel band might well have sung again "Peace on earth," for "that classic is believed to have done more good on this planet in promoting national ethics and in fostering the growth of a world conscience than any other work except the Bible." The times were very evil. The Seventy Years' War was being followed by the Thirty Years' War. Europe was one battlefield. Pillage, carnage, rapine were everywhere. Men were degenerating into ferocious beasts. The hour had struck for some dauntless spirit to go in before the monarchs of men and speak to them with authority concerning existing conditions at once so evil and so notorious. This Grotius did with erudition unsurpassed and with cogency irresistible. But he went to his grave feeling, like many another prophet, that he had delivered his burden in vain. So far from being heeded, he was apparently not even heard. Europe remained an armed camp to fill which all arts and crafts were drained. Taxes, want, disease plagued the people.

Two centuries and a half pass by and a scene all the more significant because so belated is witnessed. The first Peace Conference of the world adjourns to lay a silver wreath upon the grave of Grotius and thereby acknowledge that the Peace Conference itself owes its existence to the author of *De jure belli et pacis*.

REMBRANDT: *Art sees the beautiful in all conditions and all times, as did her high priest Rembrandt when he saw picturesque grandeur and noble dignity in the Jews' quarter of Amsterdam and lamented not that its inhabitants were not Greeks.*—Whistler.

Others were the thinkers of Freedom. Rembrandt was the painter of Freedom. He needed no emancipation, for he never wore the fetters of conventionality. No architectural backgrounds are found in his work. Yet the age thought a subject-picture at least could not be painted without them. Religious subjects still ruled the hour, but Rembrandt chose few of them and treated the subjects he chose in such an unecclesiastical way that one of his Holy Families was once taken for a group of gipsies.

It was to Rembrandt that the title "Shakespeare of Holland" was given. The reason and justness are equally apparent. His portraits stand out from a shadowy and mysterious background like the characters of a Shakespearian play, while his subject-pictures, like for example his Night Watch, Lesson in Anatomy, and Joseph Accused, all have a distinct dramatic action and expression. Again Rembrandt is universal. While not lacking in patriotism, he is more than national. Like Shakespeare, he cannot be dated or localized. If it can be said of Shakespeare that he painted portraits of the passions and that he was a painter of grand pictures of life, it can certainly be said of Rembrandt that he puts characters and dramas upon canvas.

INFERENCE: *Many arrows loosed several ways come to one mark.*—Shakespeare: *King Henry V.*

Contrasts and resemblances abound among this half-dozen men of ever-living renown. The temptation to "match them up" is strong, for it is always a fascinating pursuit and the material in this instance is all in hand. Yet this process is in large measure merely curious and of the nature of diversion. What does it matter, for example, whether the lives of these men were comparatively long or short, whether they had great schooling or little, whether they were precocious or the contrary, whether they were original or borrowers, whether they produced much or little, on many subjects or few, whether they traveled or were home-stayers, whether they were appreciated soon or late, whether they were affluent or

poor, solitary or in families? The question, in this instance, is what is the essential, if there be any, that threads them together?

The essential is that five of these celebrities were born on the soil of Holland and when the superb struggle for civil and religious liberty had come to its victorious close. It is as if into these five lives were by some subtle alchemy transfused the aspirations, tears and sighs, even the very lives sacrificed in the seventy years of struggle. Each is a child of liberty. Spinoza is freedom in philosophy, Arminius in theology, Grotius in civil life, Erasmus in scholarly life, and Rembrandt is freedom in art.

Spinoza's parents came from Portugal to Holland that their son might be born on the freest soil in the world. The son proved himself worthy of both parents and birthplace when, for example, he spurned the attempts to hire him for a price to conform to the synagogue. It is a strange phrase in which Wesley describes Arminius' system of divinity when he calls it *"manly."* Yet Wesley, if anything, is discriminating and happy in his use of words. The same free, courageous manliness characterized both the theologian and his theology. This he showed in his "declaration of his opinions before the Estates of Holland," an act very like Luther's nailing up his Theses although not so spectacular. Grotius, in turn, stood ready and in effect took sentence of imprisonment for life rather than yield his moral and intellectual freedom. Neither a cardinal's hat which he might have worn nor the idolizing devotion of the masses had he espoused their cause, could tempt Erasmus to part with his personal independence in thought, opinion and conduct. Rembrandt's Night-Watch is a significant memorial to his unfettered spirit which instead of catering to the petty vanity of those who thought they had bought a conspicuous place on his canvas, idealized the scene and mirrored the heroic spirit of Holland in particular and of the world in general.

The shades of Spinoza, Arminius, Grotius, Erasmus and Rembrandt smile at the swan-song of authority as it expresses itself to-day in the anti-modernist fulminations of the Vatican, but they would be moved to pity if any church which has the theology and is supposed to inherit the spirit of Arminius should seek to limit the privileges of a teacher or a thinker by a plurality of votes.

A PAGE OF POETRY

TO THE MOTHER OF SHAKESPEARE

Did you quite know your bright-eyed, wondering son—
Fashioned by God in some strange, unknown mold—
And stand perplexed before a childhood soul,
As Mary once in far Capernaum?

When he came in from some fond boyhood's play,
And told the pageant of his Stratford town,
The sights and talk of all his happy round,
What made your mother heart so throb that day?

We share with you your baffled mood of heart;
We know the music of our English speech,
We see the canvas of our varied life,
Made clear by magic of your great son's art.

But tell us where to find that certain clue
By which this inner self we may appraise,
And so reveal his soul to our amaze?
With you, we listen and we wonder too.

HARRY PRESSFIELD

AT COCK-CROW

Three times Truth tapped upon the window-pane,
And thrice she called my name; but false and weak,
Three times I turned my face and would not speak.
"Farewell," said Truth; "I will not come again."
And wert thou Truth? and was thy promise vain?
Or why, between my dreaming and the dawn,
Dost come beside my pillow, sad and wan,
To gaze hard-eyed upon my futile pain,
These pallid cheeks, where down the slow tear drips,
This bosom racked with hopeless yearning? So,
A girl might languish for her lover's lips,
Or soldier dying on the field might see
Below his parching lids, deliriously,
In fevered dreams, far-off the waters flow.

ANON.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

PERSONS, OR PROPOSITIONS—WHICH?

A DISTINGUISHED Princeton theologian, lying close to death, was visited by one of his students who tried to comfort him by piously quoting Paul: "I know in whom I have believed." "No," said the dying man, "not *in* whom, but I know *whom*—you must not put a preposition between me and my Lord!" But that Pauline confession of faith contains still deeper suggestions. The apostle says, "I *know* whom I have believed and am *persuaded* that he will keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." There is a difference between knowledge and persuasion, between convictions and opinions, between immediate experience and its intellectual results, between direct perception and logical inference. Christian faith is not primarily a conclusion of the reason but a present reality in the soul.

Christian certitude therefore is of persons and not of propositions. Paul does not say "I know *what*," but "I know *whom* I have believed." Jesus Christ is essential Christianity. He is the final answer to modern agnosticism. For while a metaphysical God may be unknowable and undefinable and therefore seem to make theology as a science impossible, that cannot disturb Christian faith, for it does not have a God who embarrasses the mind with inexplicable problems, but a Divine Man who enthrones God in the heart. Deism, Unitarianism, and much of dogmatic theology must go down before the agnostic objection, but the religion of experience abides. Thought has its limits, doctrines often involve doubts, rational creeds change, but persons abide. So the true Christian is the only scientific agnostic; to him has come the real reverence as he faces the Infinite. He must leave much to faith and trust. To ten thousand questions he dares to answer "I don't know," so long as he can utter the triumphant confession, "I know whom I have believed."

There is a great practical superiority of this personal over an intellectual creed. The latter only touches the mind. The intellect of man is instrumental and not germinal in human life. A man might believe all the creeds—Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian; digest all the Confessions—Augsburg, Westminster, or Helvetian; accept all the Articles of Religion—thirty-nine Anglican or twenty-five Methodist—and yet be unfit to black the boots of the humblest shoemaker who really knows Jesus Christ. For a bad man may be a most eminent theologian. It is said that Rufus Choate used to advise his law students to read books on divinity as the highest source of mental training. Let us hope that it led some of them to be religious, but it is not certain that all of them did. No church council could condemn Satan as a heretic so far as his creed is concerned. As John Wesley said: "It is impossible to imagine that the devil has any erroneous opinions." But the Prince of Evil is a heretic in heart and life.

Saving faith in a Person involves all the faculties. We know persons not only with our heads but with our hearts. No man ever makes his affections the subject of argument. "The heart has reasons of its own of which the reason knows nothing at all." As Tennyson sings:

> If ere, when faith had fallen asleep,
> I heard a voice, "Believe no more!"
> And heard an ever-breaking shore
> That tumbled in the godless deep,
>
> A warmth within my heart would melt
> The freezing reason's colder part,
> And, like a man in wrath, the heart
> Stood up and answered, "I have felt!"

Life is greater than logic. We cannot syllogize its sweetest and highest things. Inspiration does more work in the world than argument. Mother's the child's first and enduring creed. Even education at its best is person touching person, for only teaching that is vital has character-forming power. What has done most to make us patriotic? The Constitution or the Declaration? Probably, more than either, the flag—for in its tricolored beauty our country is incarnated.

It is this moral value of a creed which is its highest worth. The mass of folks live more by instinct than by reason. We do not need to know all about a thing to enjoy it. Sometimes enlarged knowledge by suppressing feeling diminishes pleasure. Flowers are more than botany and we do not love them most when we pull them to pieces for analysis. A man's theories may be utterly mistaken and his practice all right. One may not know all about the sun, its size, distance, and the theory of light, and yet bask in its rays and get pleasure and health. The writer of the Nineteenth Psalm could doubtless tell many a modern astronomer things worth while about the heavens. So it is possible for a simple Christian believer to have an apprehension of Christ deeper, broader, and richer than the mere theologian.

The personal creed is unchangeable. We can alter our theology but our personal faith alters us. What we know to-day is quite different from what we knew yesterday, but *Whom* we know is the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. We continually revise our historical confessions, but He does not need to be revised. We hold an intellectual creed, but a personal faith holds us. It transcends all criticism.

Faith in a Person unites, but belief in propositions divides the church. Christians are grouped into sects by *what,* and not by *whom* they believe. Go to your Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Protestant Episcopalian, or even your Roman Catholic friends and ask, "What do you believe?" and you get statements about grace, forecordination, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical polity utterly bewildering and damnably divisive—but ask any loyal Christian "Whom do you believe?" and there comes the chorus of consenting faith, "We believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God."

> It is the heart, and not the brain,
> That to the highest doth attain,

and Christian unity will come to the Church of Christ, when all can make their own that passage which Wesley used as his text on "The Catholic Spirit": "Is thy heart right as my heart is with thy heart? . . . If it be, give me thy hand."

The personal creed will help the intellectual creed. This essay is not a denial of the need of doctrines; we should love God with our minds as well as with our hearts. Dogma has a real value. Theology is indeed the queen of the sciences, but, because it is a science, it is subject to growth and change. It does not give life, but helps to conserve life, just as the shell protects the life within the egg. But if the shell never broke we would never get another bird! Doctrine must develop or it will stifle life. But the shell must be broken, not by iconoclastic doubt from without but by the growing life from within. Let Christianity be filled with the glowing warmth of personal religion and its many eggs of guarded truth will constantly be bursting into songsters that fill the air of the world with holy melodies.

A personal creed is the only easy creed to present to doubting minds. Theoretical religion is often a very hard thing; its many propositional beliefs are severe tests of faith and not helps to faith. We do wrong when we chide men for their intellectual doubts, and thrust miracles, prophecies, and dogmas in their faces when we ought to give them Jesus Christ. An orthodox confessional system is a product and not the condition of the sacred life. Persuasion follows knowledge. Theology is an induction from life rather than its source. It becomes easy to believe much about Jesus Christ when we have come to know him. "If any man wills to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine." There is no effort either of will or of mind which the soul that has once found him is not willing to make.

> If Jesus Christ is a man,
> And only a man, I say
> That of all mankind I will cleave to him
> And to him will cleave alway.
>
> If Jesus Christ is a God,
> And the Only God, I swear
> I will follow him through heaven and hell,
> The earth, the sea, and the air.

So Gilder sang, and it is that personal trust and loyalty which constitutes saving faith. The theory of steam, however well understood, will not carry a man an inch, but trust yourself to the engine

and, however little you know about steam, it will get you to your goal. We are saved not by a faith which is merely mental credence, but by a faith which is a moral act of the will which personally commits to Jesus Christ. How well Hartley Coleridge states it in that well-known stanza:

> Think not the faith by which the just can live
> Is a dead creed, a map correct of heaven;
> Far less a feeling, fond and fugitive,
> A thoughtless gift withdrawn as soon as given;
> It is an affirmation and an act
> That bids eternal truth be present fact.

SAINT PATRICK: THE APOSTLE OF IRELAND

The story of Saint Patrick as popularly told is full of contradictions and confusions. Gibbon said, "The sixty-six lives of Saint Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, must have contained as many thousand lies." Yet there are at least two original sources of information as to his life. Both come from his own pen: His *Confession* and the *Epistola ad Coroticum* (Letter to Coroticus). Then there is the *Lureach Phadrig* (Saint Patrick's Lorica), a hymn or rhythmical prayer, very ancient and generally ascribed to Saint Patrick. Of other than original sources, the most important are the *Ymnus Sanctii Patricii,* a hymn in praise of Patrick written during his life by Sechnall, one of his successors in the Irish Episcopate. Another is the Memoir of Bishop Tirechan, written about 670 A. D., and Muirchu's *Life of Saint Patrick,* published before 699 A. D., as it is dedicated to Bishop Aedh, who died in that year. These latter sources must be used with much Higher Criticism, as they are full of myths, legends, and absurd stories.

But Saint Patrick was not a myth. He was a real personage, a true apostle, a zealous missionary, and a flaming evangelist. From the above sources can be gleaned the following information. Saint Patrick was not an Irishman, but a British Celt, born 389 A. D., near Dumbarton, Scotland, the Rock of Clyde, near which there is now a village called Kilpatrick. His father was Cal-

purnius, a deacon, who was the son of Potitus, a presbyter of the British church, which evidently did not at that time require celibacy in its clergy. His Celtic name was Sucat, the full Roman form of his name being probably Patricius Magonus Sucatus.

As the result of an Irish invasion of sheer brigandage, perhaps that led by Niall of the Nine Hostages, the ancestor of the O'Neills, he was taken prisoner at the age of sixteen years, and made a slave to a cruel chieftain in what is now the county of Antrim in northern Ireland. He was in bondage six years when he escaped by ship either to Britain or to Brittany. It was during his captivity that, spending nights in fervent prayer, he had a sound Methodist conversion. Like Paul, he not only received the witness of the Spirit but a missionary call.

He acknowledges his illiteracy. It is quite uncertain where he spent the years of his training. It seems likely that it was in Gaul, under the tutelage of Germanus of Auxerre. He did not become a great scholar, but he did master the Scriptures. No writer quotes the Bible more freely or with greater religious insight. In the less than seven thousand words of his *Confession* there are one hundred and thirty biblical references, and in the two thousand words of the *Epistle* there are over fifty. Among the many convincing proofs of the genuineness of the *Confession* and the *Epistle* is the fact that his scriptural quotations are made from the text that was current at the beginning of the fifth century, principally from the Old Latin Version; some, however, were from the Vulgate of Saint Jerome, which was published in the last decade of the fourth century. Coroticus, to whose martyred subjects the *Letter* was addressed, ruled in northern Britain some time after 420 A. D., at Al-Clyde, near which Patrick was born.

At last, as to Paul at Troas, there came the specific missionary call. An angel named Victoricus (a name probably to be identified with one of his dead and glorified friends) appears as the Voice of the Irish calling: "We pray thee, holy youth, to come and walk with us." Out of the bosom of the night comes the bitter cry of a people, sunk in Druidic superstition, with their sorcery and human sacrifices. Through the Emerald Isle he moved, swift and as genial and persuasive as the sunbeam. He meets their

tricky magicians as mightily as Moses did those of Egypt. While he did not convert Laogaire, of Tara, Head King of Ireland, he conquered his opposition and won a free highway for the gospel.

Christianity had already entered Ireland. Saint Palladius was its first bishop. But Patrick gathered together its scattered fragments and gave it organic form as well as spiritual life. There is not the slightest historic proof for the medieval myth that Patrick went to Rome and was commissioned by Pope Celestine. All the ancient evidence is against it. The earliest historians do not mention it. Patrick himself, like Saint Paul, claims divine authority and says in the *Letter,* "I am a bishop, appointed by God, for Ireland." When he uses the word *Romani,* Romans, as he does twice, he does not mean the Roman Church, but the church as associated with the Roman Empire as it had been for more than a hundred years since Constantine. The Bishop of Rome was given at that time special respect as occupying the See at the Imperial City of the Western Empire, but nowhere was there recognition of his Divine Vicegerency. Early Irish Christianity, as we see it in the writings of Saint Patrick, is almost identical with the primitive Christianity of the New Testament.

Very ridiculous, but rather amusing, are the later legends. The Saint Patrick of the legend was a clever magician, turning ugly men into Adonises and dwarfs into giants. By baptizing pork, he made it fit fish for Friday. He turned poisoned cheese into stone. And then he marshaled all the reptiles of Erin and drove them from that cliff called Cruach Phadruig into the sea.

> He gave the frogs and snakes a twist
> And banished them forever.

Possibly there is implied an abolition of some form of ophiolatry, or Serpent Worship. Yet Ireland has few reptiles—simply because the deep seas and channels between it and the continent made difficult the distribution of animals that could not swim or wade so far. More beautiful is the tale of men and angels joining in a twelve days' wake of sacred song at his funeral in 461 A. D. Doubtless they did, even if the human choristers could not hear the heavenly songsters!

He had high apostolic qualifications. Like Wesley he was a practical mystic. He utilized the tribal bond of Celtic clan-life in his work. He had a commanding presence and oratorical power. In preaching he possessed the gift both of illustration and application; a famous example is his use of the trefoiled shamrock to picture the Trinity in Unity. He attacked with his message the centers of influence in the Green Isle. He established schools and made medieval Ireland the beacon light of culture for all the Western World. He imparted to the Irish church his own missionary zeal; a generation later, Columba, a son of the royal O'Neills, went to the Hebrides and conquered for the Christ those islands and northern Scotland. Self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, holiness, courage, and a natural ability which compensated his lack of culture—these were among the gifts of this primitive Methodist, far more Methodist than Romanist!

His name still diffuses fragrance; it has a magic spell, fresh as the shamrock, green as the emerald. But nothing is more tragic than Irish history. Most independent of Rome of all medieval churches, at last the only English Pope, Nicholas Brakespeare, Adrian IV, sold Ireland to Henry II of England. The greatest leaders of Irish liberty have been Protestants, such as Robert Emmett and Charles Stewart Parnell. If the present Ireland is to win back her primitive and medieval glory, retune her harp and restore the unclouded sunburst of her hope, it will be because to this time of political peril another Saint Patrick has come preaching a pure gospel and expressing it in the practical idealism of a Wesley.

Many devout Hibernians still repeat at bedtime the *Lorica*, or Breast-plate of Saint Patrick. It is even more wholesome for the soul than Coué's autosuggestive word-charm for the body. Here is a free rendering:

SAINT PATRICK'S ARMOR

I

I bind to myself to-day
The strong power of the invocation of the Trinity,
The faith in the Trinity in unity,
The creator of the elements.

II

I bind to myself to-day
The power of the incarnation of Christ with that of his baptism,
The power of his crucifixion with that of his burial,
The power of his resurrection with that of his ascension,
The power of his coming to the sentence of judgment.

III

I bind to myself to-day
The power of the love of seraphim,
In the obedience of angels,
In the hope of resurrection to reward,
In the prayers of the holy fathers,
In the predictions of the prophets,
In the preaching of the apostles,
In the faith of confessors,
In the purity of holy virgins,
In the acts of righteous men.

IV

I bind to myself to-day
The power of heaven,
The light of the sun,
The whiteness of snow,
The force of fire,
The flashing of lightning,
The velocity of wind,
The depth of the sea,
The stability of the earth,
The hardness of rocks.

V

I bind to myself to-day
The Power of God to guide me,
The might of God to uphold me,
The wisdom of God to teach me,
The eye of God to watch over me,
The ear of God to hear me,
The word of God to give me speech,
The hand of God to protect me,
The way of God to be before me,
The shield of God to shelter me,
The Host of God to defend me.

VI

Against the snares of demons,
Against the temptations of vices,

Against the lusts of nature,
Against every man who meditates injury to me;
Whether far or near, with few or many,
I have set round me all these powers
Against any hostile savage power
Directed against my body or my soul,
Against the incantations of false prophets,
Against the black laws of heathenism,
Against the false laws of heresy,
Against the deceit of idolatry,
Against the spells of women, of smiths, and druids,
Against all knowledge that blinds the hearts of man.

VII

Christ protect me to-day
Against prison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wrongdoing,
That I may receive abundant reward.

VIII

Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ at my right hand, Christ at my left,
Christ in chariot (when I travel),
Christ in the ship (when I sail).

IX

Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,
Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me.

X

Of the Lord is Salvation, Christ is Salvation;
With us ever be thy salvation, O Lord! AMEN.

Glaciano.

THE STARRY CROWN

PAUL, in the first letter he wrote, that to the church at Thessalonica, tells his converts that they will be his "hope, joy, and crown of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord Jesus at his coming." In other words, he expects to find his highest reward in the salvation of others. Heaven is often conceived by us as a pretty

place, described in the Book of Revelation or by John Milton, but such a heaven is hardly real enough to dry our tears. But a heaven made up of folks we have helped to get there is not only blessedly human, but also one in which the divine glory becomes truly our own.

The apostle was not deeply concerned about his own experience. That was behind him on the Damascus road. His only thought was for others. It is a glorious thing to be enough saved for that. It would brighten any man's religious experience to forget his own salvation a bit in the business of soul-winning.

He expected to know them in the resurrection life. Death does not destroy identity, for that would be the end of personality. The very continuity of spiritual survival lies in memory. Real reward depends on continuous personal consciousness. So the souls we have led to Christ will unite to honor and crown the faithful worker. Probably Paul has found, in the many centuries since he wrote these words, myriads of souls whom his preaching and writings started on the heavenly road and of whom he knew nothing in his earthly life. And so may we.

Man is a personal force in the world, put here to subdue the earth, to transform its deserts into gardens and to place the girdle of manhood about all created things. But not on material nature, but on the living stones of human character is carved his supreme artistry. God uses man to save man. The luscious clusters of redeemed life grow, not on the Vine which is Christ, but on the branches which are Christians.

The Bible pictures the joy of God in creation, singing his refrain, "It is very good," at the close of each cosmic day. The painter's real reward is the picture, the poet's best pay is his poem. So our highest happiness here is beholding the new day dawn upon a darkened soul and heaven's sunlight banish sorrow's shadow from the sinful face. And the best thing we shall get in heaven will be, not a golden harp on which to play, but the greeting songs of those we helped to get there; not a gem-studded crown, but the gathered jewels of redeemed spirits.

This is to "enter into the joy of the Lord," to share his passion of sacrificial service and his rapture of redeeming love. The crown

is taken "in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming." And Jesus will not be jealous. The comrades of the cross shall share the glory of their King.

Here is an allegory: A great king possessed a princely diadem, flashing with transparent diamonds, purple amethysts, sky-blue sapphires, verdant emeralds, and blood-red rubies. A thief stole the crown, despoiled it of its glittering gems, and scattered them far and wide over the world. The king sent forth his servants to recover the lost jewels. They brought them back one by one, rescued from every clime and country of the earth. And then the sovereign said to his servants: "The gems you have recovered are yours for the finding. Not on my brow alone but on yours shall shine forever the starry beauty of the precious stones saved by you from the spoiler's hands." Can you interpret the parable?

"Will there be any stars in *my* crown?"

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

NEHEMIAH is a noble example of a lay preacher, a combination of religious enthusiasm and practical efficiency. In him there meet lofty idealism, political skill, and business energy. He achieved what Ezra planned in the establishment of the Jewish commonwealth. His book is full of sermon suggestions that have value for to-day. Only three abstracts are given here.

THE PRAYER OF A PIOUS PATRIOT

The religious life has proved its power to thrive in the most unfavorable environments. Paul found "saints in Cæsar's household," in the very shadow of a tyrant's throne. So in the splendid palace of Artaxerxes in the City of Lilies Nehemiah kept a clean conscience amid the corruptions of a court. Piety is an exotic anywhere in this wicked world, but the soul can make its own climate by prayer. And, even so, this cupbearer of the King of Persia, surrounded by the perilous perfumes of royal favor, kept his religious life sweet and sound by perpetual baths in the fragrant atmosphere of heavenly inspiration. Not unlikely it was his piety which made him a favorite. Necessity compels kings and rulers to trust the godly man. The worldly man wants his wife to be religious; the speculative banker seeks honest employees; and the blasphemer desires a godly teacher for his children. Sinful society pays at last a grudging homage to goodness. Circumstances are no excuse for backsliding. Any station that encloses a duty is a safe place for a saint, but only a positive piety can stand the test. (Nehemiah 1.)

Nehemiah was patriotic as well as pious. Exile had not dimmed his

devotion to his native land. Persian magnificence had not made dilapidated Zion less dear. It is a spurious spirituality that would keep the pious man out of politics. There may be as true religious fervor shown in building walls as in saving souls, for the condition of a nation's walls may profoundly affect the condition of souls. It is necessary and right to fight typhoid in the blood of the sick man; it is quite as important to purify the water and milk supply. The state of the church and the state of the state have much to do with each other. A manly faith finds its field of activity everywhere. The highest worship of God may be found in the lowly service of man. In our American life we need men who can blend the flag and the cross, our country and Christ in a single passion of loyalty and service. Our Christianity is denied when it is not applied.

Nehemiah had a social conscience. To him to be saved was more than the achievement of personal rectitude. His was a vicarious passion which made his people's sins and woes his own. So when his kinsman Hanani brings bad news from home of the reproach and ruin of his native land, his heart breaks at the cry of humanity, brotherhood, and fatherland, and it is to him the call of God for sacrificial service. If Jerusalem is defenseless and dishonored, he feels the shame as a stain on his own conscience and a burden upon his own soul. The grief of the patriot leads to the self-surrender of the saint. His prayer is a marvelous expression of this identification of himself with the sin and sorrow of his race. As Mr. Spurgeon says, "he spelled 'we' with an 'I' in it." "I confess the sins of the children of Israel which we have sinned against thee." We shall never be true helpers of humanity until we take to heart all human sin and suffering. This is the verdict of great souls; all lofty lives have the cross-bearing spirit. Self-preservation may be the first law of nature, but self-sacrifice is the first law of grace. As our Lord wept over the city, and through his tears saw the path to Calvary, so must his disciples become partners of his passion and pain if the world is to be redeemed.

Nehemiah was a model layman. He does not stop to criticise Ezra, the ecclesiastic, under whose leadership things have come to such a pass; he does not try to shift the burden from his own shoulders upon those of the priests; he does not even quiet his conscience by making a subscription toward restoration of the walls. He flings himself, his splendid talents, his substance, his position, into the breach of broken walls and shattered national hopes. An intensely emotional nature, he nevertheless does not waste the substance of his soul in passion. His sorrow drives him to God. Prayer, persistent and penitent prayer, is the solvent of his difficulty, the source of strength, and the prelude to action. His prayer unites the humility of utter contrition with the audacity of a militant faith. He dares to remind God of his pledged word and challenges the honor of the Eternal. It is the prayer of a practical business man, who knows that the path to his purpose must lie through the favor of his royal master. He gets at the heart of the king of Persia through the might of the King of kings.

To-day many of the walls that once safeguarded the nation's life are

being broken down, the walls of the Lord's Day, family religion, and public reverence. Is there no call to the men of America, out of the sepulchers of our sires, to rebuild these broken bulwarks of social safety? Every town and city needs its Nehemiah, whose loyal love to state and church shall seek strength through prayer for militant service.

Consecrated Courage or Cowardly Compromise

"I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down;" such is the daring defiance with which Nehemiah meets the counsel of compromise suggested by the allied conspirators against his pious and patriotic enterprise. For, having failed to frustrate his plans by force, they resort to fraud. This is the most successful strategy of Satan; if he can only induce good people to call a truce and consent to a parley he has half won the day. It is such a cunning appeal to the generosity of noble souls which constitutes the most dangerous "confidence game" played by the plausible defenders of "vested rights against the righteousness of real reform." "We have really misunderstood one another; we all seek the same ends, let us find some neutral ground on which we can come together and talk it all over. We don't want the saloon back nor to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. Just let us have our wine and beer and we will let it stand!" Christian charity is a beautiful thing, but we dare not let it degenerate into a good-natured tolerance of the poor second best which would usurp the place of the ideal good. (Neh. 6. 1–12.)

Nothing can save the true man from the temptation of such temporizing trickery but to keep his eye on the alluring glory of the heights. He will not leave the holy hill of Zion for a pleasant visit yonder to the plains of Ono; he will not let the devil pick the field for fighting God's battle. To work for God, to work with God, that is a great work to be put in the forefront of all work. The selfish claims of secular business, the allurements of pleasure, the winsome wooing of the world all cry, "Come down!" but he who has caught the vision of the city of God and felt the consecrated claims of the Kingdom must reply, "Why should the work cease while I leave it and come down unto you?"

> Whoso has felt the vision of the Highest
> Cannot confound nor doubt him nor deny;
> Yea, with one voice, O world, though thou deniest,
> Stand thou on that side, for on this am I.

But the policy of his foes goes farther than a mere proposition for a parley; Sanballat, Tobiah, and company try a sort of moral blackmail. They tell the patriot builder and reformer that his motives are liable to be suspected, that he may have to meet a charge of treason made to his royal master, the Persian King. And they quote high authority for the infamous slander, "Gashmu saith it." This Arabian emir seems to have been a sort of glorified gossip, a clever, conceited, and influential master in an ancient "school for scandal." Such men still poison the air with unscrupulous calumny; they are robbers who steal reputation, they are murderers who stab character. No lofty-souled leader of men has ever

been able to wholly escape this peril. The path of duty which leads to heavenly glory often passes near the pitfall of earthly infamy. But if we are to achieve anything worth while we must be deaf to the whispers of Mrs. Grundy or the noisy clamor of popular abuse, and open our ears to the music of divine approval.

> Shall I to soothe the unholy throng
> Soften the truth, and smooth my tongue?
> Yea, let men rage, since thou wilt spread
> Thy shadowing wings around my head.

There is a panic of popularity, a cowardice of custom, a petty poltroonery of public opinion against which the only defense is the courage of a clean conscience.

These, however, were but clumsy snares compared with the damnable subtlety of their final attempt to seduce Nehemiah from his consecrated purpose. They pollute the purity of divine revelation by suborning the voice of prophecy. A messenger of Jehovah is induced by bribery to break down the brave man's resolution by a craven counsel of terror. Shemaiah, an acknowledged prophet, advises that together they take refuge in the temple against the dreaded hand of the assassin. The masterpiece of the king of darkness is to imbue the holy ministry with a temporizing policy of despair and delay. Some preachers are only diplomats of the devil. A time-serving pulpit would make the house of God a coward's castle, in which the hosts of God hide away from the strenuous peril of militant service. If only good people can be driven from the fields of politics, society, and trade into the church, and kept there, the devil has won a signal victory. The primary election may be more important than the prayer meeting. The walls of the redeemed society must be built, not merely around the sanctuary but about the whole city, so that they shall enclose the market place, the public office, and the election booth as well as the altar.

It is worth while to note that this trained courtier from the court at Susa was able to meet and thwart the chicanery of his opponents. Good men need not be stupid. When the wisdom of the serpent is sanctified by inspiration of the Holy Dove it becomes a sacred weapon, a spear of Ithuriel whose revealing touch dissolves the specious deceits behind which iniquity hides the foulness of its face. This does not imply any taint of insincerity in the pious policy of using a sanctified strategy in the cause of righteousness. It simply means that a clean heart makes a clear eye, and that the utter frankness of a conscientious courage will confuse the sophistry of sin and the subtlety of Satan. A faltering prudence is not always even politic, and valor may very often be the true discretion and the very secret of safety. There is more than a sublime self-appeal in the fine phrase of Nehemiah, "Should such a man as I flee?" It is rather the conscious greatness of a soul allied to a great God and given to a great task. To "come down" for cowardly compromise with the enemies of God would be more than a physical descent from the Judean mountains; it would be a coming down from the heights of character and the splendor

of a lofty spiritual service. In the glory of that vision was born the consecration and courage that made his soul stately and strong.

The Soul's Sorrow and the Joy of Jehovah

At last, under the patriotic leadership of Nehemiah, the breaches in the wall of Zion have been repaired and the house of God renovated. These visible defenses, necessary as they are, are not the sole nor the chief safeguard of the nation's life. So long as sin is in the city, it will throw down the walls and give entrance to the enemy. The reformer and builder must give way to the teacher, the man of action to the man of thought. Nehemiah, the secular leader, can inspire the masonry of granite walls, but Ezra, the minister of religion, erects the invisible but mightier bulwark of the law of God about the life of the people. The mechanical must make way for the moral.

The ancient covenant of Sinai, the Deuteronomic law that inspired the reform under Josiah and the sacerdotal liturgy elaborated by priestly prophets such as Ezekiel, have been at last codified into the great book of instruction, rightly ascribed to Moses because filled with the spirit and developing the ideals of the great lawgiver. The Book of the Law is no longer an esoteric code for a sacerdotal class; it is more than a priestly ritual; it is henceforth the people's book to be taught in popular assemblies. Israel first taught democracy in religion. (Neh. 8. 1–12.)

The scene is striking; it is something like a vast Sunday school, with mixed classes of adults and children, each with its Levitical instructor. Ezra, the superintendent, occupies the platform, with his fourteen assistants. It is not in the temple area; the message of Jehovah has come out of the "dim religious light" of the holy places into the broad daylight of the open street. It is a symbol that the synagogue is to supersede the sanctuary, that the priest and the altar must finally yield to the preacher and the pulpit. Scripture shall be no sealed book to the common man; its teachers are to so give the sense that the will of Jehovah shall pass from the written page to the heart of the worshiper. And Israel learned the lesson; the first and the one hundred and nineteenth psalms are the expression in rapturous song of the new-found delight in the statutes of the Lord.

Knowledge of the book of God is the signal for religious awakening. The vision of the divine ideal is at once despair and hope. Its holiness convicts the sinful soul; its divinity inspires confidence in believing hearts. So, when the multitude hears for the first time the message of Sinai, the warnings of Deuteronomy, and the exactions of the law of holiness, waves of feeling sweep over the assembly, arousing mingled moods of sorrow and joy. "By the law is the knowledge of sin," and in the light of the new vision of the revealed will of Jehovah the rebellions and disloyalties of the nation stand revealed in dreadful distinctness. In the holy mirror of law, human sin is seen in all its hideous deformity. The fountains of feeling gush forth in the "godly sorrow that worketh repentance."

Sorrow for sin is in the road to the joy of salvation. For, after all, this great meeting had not been called for a fast, but for a feast. The terrors of the law are only the reverse side of the glory of the gospel; the warnings are only shadows of the promises. So Ezra speaks words of consolation to the weeping people, "This day is holy unto Jehovah your God; mourn not nor weep, for the joy of Jehovah is your strength." The minor strain of spiritual anguish is resolved into the major melody of exultant gladness. Sorrow is a good thing, but joy is better; for while sorrow spurs the soul to penitence, joy wings the life for service. And so the people held a holy picnic, an ancient camp meeting, weaving their tents of olive boughs with their message of peace, pine branches with their aromatic fragrance typical of healing and waving palms symbolic of victory. In their rejoicing self was swallowed up in the passion for service, and abundance shared its fullness with need. The law, through the enthusiasm and inspiration of joy, found fulfillment in love.

The joy that gives strength is a divine joy; it is called "the joy of Jehovah." For pain and rapture meet in the life of God. He, too, feels anguish for the broken law as he sees it in the broken lives of his children, and he, bearing the burden of the world's agony in atoning love, touches the blessedness of divinest joy through sacrificial service, when he sees of the travail of his soul and is satisfied. When we learn to share his heartbreak over a lost world and lost souls we too shall have entered into the joy of our Lord.

THE ARENA

A PROMINENT DIVINE ON CHRIST[1]

An able article on Christ by an eminent Methodist theologian is so striking as to be worthy of a remark or two. He says that Christ's temptations involve a "degree of interest in alternatives." Yes, interest to look at them, see their meaning, but not interest in the sense of wanting to take the wrong alternative, not because he physically could not, but because he morally would not. This interest in alternatives, it is said, means in Christ "a certain mental obscurity." But how can "comprehension of alternatives and interest in them" mean mental obscurity? It would mean exactly the opposite. This comprehension and interest also "means a certain hesitation of will." But the record shows no hesitation of will as to any moral or religious alternative, except one—the death on the cross. But that was due to the very opposite of mental obscurity, because he saw too clearly what that death meant. "Where that obscurity and hesitation was the case, there was certainly no omniscience." But if there was no mental obscurity nor hesitation of will, why should there not be omniscience, so far as it was possible in a divine-human person? The records show that Christ was (or became) morally omniscient,

[1] See the article on "The Problem of the Person of Christ" by Professor Edwin Lewis in the January-February issue of the Methodist Review.

omniscient for all the needs of his work (the only being of whom this was true), but not absolutely omniscient (Mat. 24. 36).

"It is difficult to see why, if supernatural birth did not of itself assure omniscience, it should yet be held to assure holiness." But the records show that it (or something else) did assure moral omniscience. In any case the apodosis does not follow. For holiness is a moral attribute germane to man, while omniscience in absolute sense is germane to God alone. Supernatural birth would therefore inevitably secure holiness (like produces like) until thwarted by an act of will.

Absence of human paternity of Jesus is called "so debatable a point." But it is debatable, not on the records, which leave no doubt, but on presuppositions alone. It is "in keeping with modern modes of thought to believe that God prepared for the coming of his Son not by dispensing with fatherhood, but by divinizing motherhood." This may or may not be true, but in any case "modern modes of thought" should conform to facts. Philosophically if the Son had an actual preexistence with God, supernatural birth (without father) seems the only way he could come; historically the records show he did come that way. Of course the divinizing of motherhood goes without saying.

Luke leaves on the mind "very serious doubt whether he is describing an absolutely virgin birth." On the contrary there can be no serious doubt. (1) No one doubts the human paternity of Elisabeth's son, though he was to be "filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb." (2) Mary is told of the birth of a son who was to be called "the Son of the Most High." Mary questions, inasmuch "as I know not a man." Then she is assured not, as would be the case on supposition of those denying supernatural birth, that she would yet know a man and therefore need not doubt, but that "the Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." As though he said, "Do not fear, Mary, the Spirit takes the place of thy betrothed man." (3) This explains and guarantees the divine result, as he adds: "Wherefore that holy begotten (thing or being) shall be called the Son of God." I do not see how a miraculous (non-paternal) birth could be announced more distinctly, unless the announcer used words with a frankness and grossness not in keeping with the spiritual beauty if not splendor of this wonderful narrative. Far from it being true, therefore, that "it can never be certain that Luke describes a virgin birth" it is morally certain that he does.

What Luke really teaches is that the Spirit "made Mary so feel the glory of her approaching motherhood, and filled her mind with such rapturous thoughts concerning her child," that it was in a real sense supernaturally born. But it does not follow that a child is supernaturally born because the Spirit so "possesses" the mother that her "mind is filled with such solemn and rapturous thoughts concerning her child and its destiny." On the contrary, that has been the experience of thousands of mothers, and perhaps ought to be the experience of all. And thousands of children have justified it, and yet not one of them has been a Christ.

This new theory of a preparation of Mary is said to be no less "congruous with a Christian philosophy of the universe." Well, it is if you make

your philosophy not out of the facts but out of your own presuppositions. The fact that never in the history of the world has the divinest possible "preparation of the mother's heart and mind" ever produced a Jesus Christ, while the miraculous birth as told in the records did produce him, ought to be dovetailed into a "Christian philosophy of the universe," where the emphasis is on the word Christian. For the same reason the natural birth with the religious preparation of the mother cannot "account for his uniqueness, his universality, and his preexistence."

Jesus was born Jesus, not the Christ, though he was born to become the Christ, as what "Jesus" stands for is separable in thought from what "the Christ" stands for. Well, of course that is true in the sense that the words mean different things, "Jesus a Saviour," and "Christ," an Anointed One. But there was only one person born, and when he was a child he was only potentially either Jesus (Saviour) or Christ (Messiah), but when he was a man he became both in the same sense. Nor does the prologue of John make the modern distinction between Jesus the man and Christ the Son of God. Just the contrary. There was only one being for John—the being who "became flesh," the being who "cometh after" John the Baptist, but "is become before" him "because he was" before him. And this one Jesus is called the Logos by John the evangelist because he was the Logos. Nor is there the slightest evidence in the New Testament nor in the consciousness of Jesus that "he became anointed with the Logos." He did indeed become "identified" with the Logos, but that was not only a very early evolution, but it was as inevitable as his identification with Saviour, Redeemer, Son of Man, Son of God, and it stands or falls with these.

"We owe the coming of Jesus not to any arbitrary dispensing with a human factor, but to the unusual activity of the divine." Nobly said. No divine deed is ever "arbitrary," much less the Gospel miracles. And it is that every Gospel which shows that the coming of Jesus was due to an "activity of the divine" so glorious that its very glory was the dispensing with one human factor, not as arbitrary but as fitting morally, æsthetically, historically, and besides as absolutely indispensable. Not only is our "deep-seated sense of order" not violated, but it is glorified. The other hypothesis would need a series of stupendous miracles less rational than this one of the records.

This able writer's conception of Christ is that he was a man only, born by a human father of a spiritually wonderfully endowed mother, who was "true to his vocation," this vocation being to make "absolute expression in a human life" of that "integral feature" of God which we might call the "eternal Christ." That was the achievement of Jesus. He brought himself into an "essential moral identity" with God. In this sense he at last became "very God." But this republication of the dynamistic Monarchian Theodotus's views (190-210 A. D.) slightly modified, does not, I fear, help us much. (1) For a man to become "very God" is as philosophically absurd as it is impossible in the nature of things. (2) For Jesus to "realize absolute God consciousness" without being God, is also philosophically impossible, for every being is what his consciousness is.

(3) For a man to "enter wholly into the innermost meaning of God and his purpose" without being God is impossible, for the "innermost meaning of God" is God. No one has looked or can look into that abyss but God. The sacred writer had a finer apprehension, did he not? "No man hath seen God at any time; God only begotten [Harnack follows Hort in thinking—according to many very ancient authorities—that this is the true reading (see *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1876, 541–6)], who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." (4) No man can have an "absolute involution of the divine" in him, nor "identity of experience" with God, nor an "identity of will" with God, unless he is God. For that involution, experience, will—that is just God. If Jesus perfectly had God's experiences then he was God. (5) Jesus "achieved" salvation, redemption, etc., but he did not and in the nature of things could not "achieve" Deity. God is not made, nor attained unto, though we can attain unto more of his likeness.

The Logos which is the basis of the "absolute God consciousness of Jesus," it is said, is also the "basis of human personality." There is a sense in which this is true. The Father from eternity has seen all men in his Son, who is the "first-born among many brethren." We might say that because God is the eternal Father of the Son he can become in his own time the Father of all men. That is one of the meanings of the incarnation. And because God is a person, he can make persons, and they as such are therefore his children. But that does not mean that the Logos is the basis of our personality, as in Jesus. What is the basis of our personality, as of all gods and angels? Consciousness. Does that affirm an eternal Logos in us, or that we are that Logos? No. It affirms only that we are human beings, no more, no less, sinning, striving, etc. What did Christ's consciousness affirm? That he was a human being too, but more, without a sense of sin, without a sense of even imperfection, failure or defect, that he was the Son of God, that therefore he alone knew the Father, and the Father alone knew him, that he dwelt in the bosom of the Father constantly, or that in other words the Logos which he was is quite different from the light of the Logos which shines forth, enlightening every man who cometh into the world. Christ is universal because he is man and because he can make us to become in our own measure sons of God.

Finally it is said that Christ was "preexistent only in the sense that every other man is," because every man is a "manifestation of a certain antecedent divine reality." There is a slight confusion in our author. On one page Jesus cannot be identified with the Logos, but on another the Logos is the basis of the absolute God consciousness of Jesus; on one page men have vainly endeavored to identify him with the Logos, on another he has really identity of experience with God himself and therefore an absolute God consciousness. Both cannot be true. The trouble is that Jesus appears in our records as "that mother's child" *and* as the Son of God, as a man who was born at Bethlehem *and* as he who could say, Before Abraham was I am. I think few claim that Christ's consciousness (either in heaven or earth) was that of being "absolutely divine and

eternal *in its own native right*" (italics mine), at least none who are trained in the New Testament and early Christian thought; but all who are trained in those sources claim or could rightly claim that the Son's consciousness is and always was of being divine and eternal *as Son*, and therefore dependent not on himself or his own right but on the Father. That consciousness not only does not "lack any known facts to support it," but all the facts of the New Testament, of history, and—in its own way—of Christian experience, support it: that that mother's child was at once son of man and Son of God. Not only is the New Testament *not* "susceptible of a different interpretation," according to scientific exegesis, but candid Unitarians and German rationalists have confessed that that Testament teaches that very thing, and therefore they reject it as authoritative. The reasons why God "could" not "have done at any earlier time what he at last did in Christ" are historical purely. That our Lord's preexistence was simply a certain "feature" of the Father, say love or grace or truth, or that the Father himself was finally seized hold of by the natural though illegitimate son of a spiritually endowed woman, breaks down on Jesus' consciousness and our sources: these represent not a "*this*" or a "*somewhat*," but a "he," a "him" ("lovedst me before the foundation of the world"), not a person or individual in our sense, but a Person, a Subsistence, the eternal Son, who dwelt in God and with God, and who in the fullness of time "for us men and our salvation" was incarnated in the womb of the virgin Mary and born on that first Christmas day.

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BIBLICAL RESEARCH

NEW PATHS IN THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

THE modern man is a man who thinks historically; and for this reason modern science also knows no higher aim than to acquire an historical picture, in so far as it is concerned with the past. The first task, consequently, in the scientific study of the Old Testament is to set forth the history of Israelitic literature, with a view to attaining in this way the ultimate goal of a history of Israelitic religion and culture.

But the literature of the Israelitic people contains only a single book. There are, it is true, outside of the Old Testament a few literary monuments, such as the Siloam Inscription dating from the time of Hezekiah and the agricultural "calendar" of Gezer dating from 800–600 B. C. But these do not belong to literature in the proper sense of the term. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to whether it is possible to write a history of Israelitic literature on the basis of a single book.

The Old Testament, however, is only apparently a unit. Actually it falls apart into separate writings that even yet are wholly independent of each other. It contains, in fact, a little library. The individual books

gathered together in it date from different centuries, in round numbers from the first thousand years before Christ. They furnish, therefore, some basis for a history of Israelitic literature; and this ideal we may hold before us, even though the prospect of its attainment may be doubtful.

But as soon as we look beyond Israel to the Judaism of the Persian-Hellenistic period, the material at our disposal suddenly expands to about double the extent of the Old Testament. For now that whole literature is added, which is contained in the Pseudepigrapha and the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, and which is being constantly enriched by new discoveries. One need only recall the Achikar-Romance in the Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B. C., and the Damascus-Document found in the synagogue of Old Cairo, whose contents date from the second century B. C.

Such is the extent of the material available for the history of Israelitic-Jewish literature. It is, we shall have to admit, quite scanty; but it is nevertheless not without promise of being successfully used for the purpose in hand. Of decisive significance in this connection is the question as to whether it is possible to make up what is lacking in the *extent* of the traditional material by the *intensity* of scientific study. In three different ways scholars are at present working toward the desired goal: (1) by means of literary criticism; (2) by tracing the history of literary forms, and (3) by unfolding the history of literary material.

1. Literary Criticism

Concerning literary criticism a few words will suffice, not because it is of minor importance but because it has to-day about run its course. It gave character and direction to the first great period of Old Testament science, which extended from Astruc to Wellhausen, from 1753 to 1901, the latter being the year when Gunkel's *Genesis* appeared. The contemporaries of Wellhausen devoted almost their entire strength to the development of literary criticism, and in this way they arrived at conclusions that are of permanent significance. No one to-day can escape the force of these conclusions, even though in matters of detail minor modifications continue to be made.

The method consisted in fixing attention on the repetitions, the contradictions and the changes of names and forms of expression in the biblical text, in order to restore with their help the different sources on documents that had been used. In this way scholars succeeded in discovering in the Hexateuch four source-books, which are now generally recognized, and with reference to the time of whose composition there are only slight differences of opinion. These differences, however, become greater, when one inquires concerning the conclusions reached relative to the other historical books of the Old Testament; and opinions become radically divergent when it comes to the Psalms and Prophets.

In other words, literary criticism has justified itself for Hebrew prose, especially in the case of the Hexateuch, but not for Hebrew poetry. The understanding of the Psalms and Prophets it has not advanced, but has

actually hindered. The difference in result in the two cases is to be explained by the difference in the two types of literature. It is not only false, but absurd, to apply the principles of literary criticism which were, so to speak, created for the prose narratives of the Hexateuch, to poetry and prophecy, which represent altogether different conditions of spiritual experience.

Nevertheless, the results attained by literary criticism should not be underestimated. As a consequence of the fact that the chronological order of the sources of the Hexateuch has been established with a high degree of probability, the history of Israelitic literature has for the first time won for itself a firm footing. The biblical phenomena, often so perplexing in their diversity, have been chronologically separated, and their apparently meaningless confusion has been transformed into a rational order of events, which is worthy of the divine operation and intelligible to the human spirit. Two great works, those of the Yahwist and Elohist, indeed, one might say, the two finest prose writings of preexilic Israel, have been restored to their classic form or at least brought out into such distinct independence that one might properly speak of their rediscovery. The five books of Moses, which to so zealous a Bible reader as Goethe were in part "unpalatable" because necessarily unintelligible to him, have to-day as a result of literary criticism been made readable again, a service that should not be minimized. Then along with the Yahwist and Elohist is the Priestly Code, a work of post-exilic Judaism, as marked in its individuality as it is distinguished in character. Its rediscovery likewise signifies a valuable enrichment of the history of Israelitic literature.

2. The History of Literary Forms (*Gattüngsgeschichte*)

A new path, by which to approach the ideal of an historical exposition of Old Testament literature, is opened up by "the history of literary forms." This line of investigation is still comparatively recent, and the publicity thus far given it is so limited that neither its problems nor its results are yet adequately appreciated.

It starts with the fundamental presupposition that, as in all literatures of the world, so also in the Israelitic-Jewish, there are definite forms or types, and that it is, therefore, the task of science sharply to define the nature of these forms and to write their history. The fact that there are in the Old Testament different literary forms is not open to question, for the names of such forms have in many cases been handed down to us by tradition, as for example in the Psalms "Songs of Praise" and "Prayers of Thanksgiving."

When now one goes through the Psalms and arranges them with this in view, one soon discovers a whole series of songs which are so full of praise to God that one could not well call them anything else than "Songs of Praise"; and then again there is another series, in which thanksgiving comes so prominently into the foreground that one could hardly avoid calling them "Songs of Thanksgiving." But one soon learns that these two groups are not sufficiently comprehensive to include all the different

kinds of psalms. There are, for instance, songs that glorify the king, hence "Royal Psalms"; and then there are prayers that are so full of lamentation that we naturally call them "Songs of Lamentation" or "Elegiac Songs." Then when we examine more carefully these elegiac songs, and inquire who the complainant is, whether it is an *I* or a *We*, we soon learn to distinguish within this class two groups: *personal* elegies and *national* elegies. Having had one's attention directed in one instance to this distinction between I and We, we then extend it to the other literary forms or classes and in each case carefully inquire whether the psalm in question is of the individual or collective type. As soon as one has carried through such a classification of the psalms according to their several kinds, even though perhaps at first quite roughly and often in matters of detail hesitatingly and feeling one's way uncertainly, one next passes to the task of analyzing the form and content more precisely.

The best way to begin is with the introductory and concluding formulas. These in most cases indicate quite clearly the particular literary form represented by the psalm under consideration. This is also often the case with modern compositions. "Dear brethren in Christ" is the beginning, and "to all eternity, Amen," the close of a sermon. "My dear sir" is the beginning and "Very respectfully yours" is the close of a letter. "There was once upon a time" is the beginning, and "If they are not dead, they are living still" is the close of a fairy tale. In the same typical way, or rather still more so, since the modern man can more easily free himself from bondage to form, some psalms begin: "Out of deep need cry I unto thee, O Lord"; others begin quite as regularly, "Praise the Lord, ye his saints." The former are "the Songs of Lamentation," the latter "the Songs of Praise."

Having examined the introductory and concluding formulas, we proceed to a study of the total structure of the Psalms. What parts, we ask, are connected together? How long are these parts? How are they related to each other? How is the transition made from one to the other? In short, we inquire concerning everything which has to do with the external and internal form of the Psalms.

But the content also cannot be altogether separated from such historical investigations of the form. One needs to inquire concerning the different motives and materials, the ideas and figures of speech, which the poet employs. In this connection it is also worth while noting the outward attendant circumstances that are frequently either expressly mentioned or merely alluded to. This is important in answering the question as to what situation in life originally gave rise to the particular literary form under consideration. For instance, in the "songs of thanksgiving" there are frequent references to "thank offerings"; and from this we are justified in concluding that originally, the "song of thanksgiving" and the "thank offering" belonged closely together. Indeed, the two can in Hebrew be designated by one and the same word. This kind of psalm was, then, originally a "thank offering song." But as contrasted with it there are some psalms that expressly emphasize the fact that the Lord does not desire offerings but only hymns and prayers. This fact manifestly points

to an historical development. The original "thank offering songs," which were sung by the devout in connection with the sacrificial meal, later became hymns of a purely spiritual character, sung apart from the sacrificial meal. Hence the further question arises as to how this change was effected, and what the relation of the psalms in general was to sacrifices and to prophecy with its anti-sacrificial attitude. From such inquiries as these important conclusions can be drawn concerning the history of psalm-writing.

At present we are able to form an approximate idea of the value that the scientific study of the history of literary forms has, particularly in the case of the Psalms. We recognize in the Psalter certain definite, sharply outlined types, each of which has its own form and its own content, its own introductory and concluding formulas, its own structure, its own motives, themes, and figures of speech, its own grammatical methods of expression and its own vocabulary. He who knows the type, knows also the individual example. To be sure there are psalms which can only with difficulty be subsumed under any type. But their number is small, and their artistic quality for the most part not very high, as might naturally be surmised. Actual difficulties are confined almost wholly to the alphabetic songs, the psalms in which a "learned" playing with the initial letters of the successive lines or verses overshadows everything else. One needs, however, to be on his guard against establishing resemblances where none exist, and one should be ready to recognize special forms wherever they are found. The correct method will avoid the leveling tendency. Indeed, the more sharply the type of a certain kind of literature is defined, the more clearly as over against this background will the individual examples stand out, which depart in form and content from the type and thus bear a unique character. At the same time a knowledge of the type often contributes to the understanding of a difficult text. It is strange how little effort has heretofore been made to explain the Psalms by themselves, that is, by the help of the numerous parallel examples that appear in the Psalter.

Only by means of the scientific study of literary forms is it possible to write a history of the Psalms. For such a study teaches us to become acquainted with that large number of psalms, which have been handed down to us outside of the Psalter from the earliest to the latest period: from the Song of Miriam and of Deborah down to the Psalter of Solomon, the psalms of Jesus the Son of Sirach interspersed among his sayings, the psalms in the Christian literature, so far as it was influenced by Judaism, in the Gospels or in the Odes of Solomon. He, who is able to master this extraordinarily rich material, will be able out of the literary specimens contained in it to reconstruct the history of a lost literature, and to set forth the history of our Psalter both in its preparatory stages and in the period subsequent to its completion. He will be able to tell us when the psalm-literature attained its highest development; for, like every other literature, it grew to maturity, blossomed, and then faded away. One needs only read the songs in the Psalter of Solomon, inwardly corroded as they are by reflection and feeble alike in form and content,

to realize the enormous distance that separates them from the Davidic Psalter. From this it may properly be concluded that the blossoming period of the psalm-literature, the time of its highest development, was from the ninth to the seventh century B. C.

What the scientific study of the history of literary forms has accomplished and will still accomplish in the case of the Psalms, it also either has done or will do for the other fields of Old Testament literature: for lyric poetry in general, both profane and religious, for prophecy and the Wisdom Literature, for story and history. It is, of course, not a key to everything, and only to a certain extent does it help us in the understanding of the great personalities. In the case of the writing prophets, representing as they do the high point of Israel's literary development, the "history of literature" will necessarily be biographical, and will seek to grasp and to set forth each prophet in his uniqueness as an author. Nevertheless the determination or fixing of literary forms is of fundamental importance also for prophecy. For it shows that it is not the prophetic book but the prophetic oracle that constitutes the literary unit from which the interpretation of the prophets must take its start; and this fact radically modifies the standard heretofore set up for determining whether a passage is genuine or not. A passage is not necessarily a later addition because it fails to connect with what precedes or what follows. As in the case of the Psalms, so here the study of literary forms leads us back into the antecedents of prophecy and forward into its later effects, it leads us back into the lost prophetic literature before the time of Amos and forward into the subsequent influence of prophecy on other fields of Israelitic-Jewish literature. At the same time it yields us new means by which to date the Old Testament prophecies, and also opens up new vistas in our knowledge of the development of the prophetic literature in general.

The same holds true also of the prose literature and the wisdom literature. In all fields the scientific study of literary forms penetrates more deeply into the formal nature and at the same time more deeply also into the content and history of literature. Questions about which men heretofore had busied themselves in vain or which they had not as yet even raised, find now a satisfactory answer; questions concerning the unique character of Hebrew historiography, its origin and development; questions concerning the nature of the Hebrew story and its relation to the legends and fairy tales of other peoples; questions concerning the origin and development of the proverbial wisdom of the Hebrews. Such questions as these one can often answer only by comparison with the literature of related or neighboring peoples. For the history of Israel's literature is only a part of the general literary history of southwestern Asia, from which it cannot be wholly detached. The Old Testament has no reason to fear such a comparison, for it has up to the present always demonstrated its superiority both as regards form and matter to the literature of the whole world; indeed, its greatness and external worth are by means of this comparison brought out into the light more clearly than ever.

3. The History of Literary Material (*Stoffgeschichte*)

While "the history of literary forms" has made the investigation of the typical literary form its task, "the history of literary material" is concerned with the typical content. The latter line of inquiry will always be confined to a limited portion of literature. For "literary material" in the sense here used is not everywhere handed down. Historiography knows only events which never repeat themselves, the single and solitary yesterday, while "literary material" is the eternal yesterday and continually returns. The chief field of the history of literary material is, therefore, folk stories, which operate with fixed traditions and yet more or less transform them according to changing circumstances.

But great poets, like our ballad writers or dramatists, can also use traditional literary material. In this case it is quite self-evident to scientific investigation that it raise the question as to the origin and history of the literary material dealt with and seek to answer it. The literary historian, who aims to appraise the works of Shakespeare, will direct his attention to answering the question as to what "literary material" Shakespeare used and what evidence there is of its existence in the literature before his time or what can be deduced from his own poems as to its previous history. One can, of course, understand Shakespeare without such preliminary studies, and the main thing will always be to immerse oneself in his own works. But only he who is acquainted with the earlier history of his "material" is really in a position to appreciate Shakespeare in his unique greatness and in his creative mastery as over against all his predecessors. The same holds true in a corresponding way of the great literary prophets and their creative mastery as over against the popular traditions which they are supposed to have incorporated in their preaching.

Only a very few workers have thus far arisen in the field of "the history of literary material." The chief reason probably for this is that students have been frightened away by the difficulties of the task. For to the superficial observer it seems as though the criticism of "literary material" was a less tangible thing to deal with than literary criticism; but it only seems so, and this seeming arises from the unfamiliar nature of the problem. To the philologist, for whom nothing but the written has any value, the only natural thing is to refer contradictions in the biblical text to divergent written sources. But it has now been shown that the oldest written source, revealed to us by literary criticism, the Yahwist, in spite of the excision of all foreign additions, still contains all manner of contradictions; and it is a current belief that we cannot really master this written source except by carrying it back to two yet older source books, the first and second Yahwist. If, however, this process is carried much farther, the result before long will be atoms, no longer visible to ordinary eyes. The idea that oral transmission of literary material preceded its reduction to written form has not seemed to occur to critics, or at least they have not taken it seriously. And yet the truth of this fact is one concerning which one may be convinced by any collection whatsoever

of folk-tales, as for example that from present day Palestine published in 1916 by Hans Schmidt and Paul Kahle.

As authors may consciously work a story over, so may a story also undergo change in the course of oral transmission, but the change thus brought about is of a quite different nature, as it rests on unconscious deterioration. The deterioration varies in degree according to the relative excellence of the tradition. If the threads are badly intertwined, one is not in a position to disentangle them again. But often it is possible to restore meaning to a complicated and chaotic narrative, and in any case the attempt to do so is infinitely fascinating. Success is most likely to be achieved when different traditions are at one's disposal which can be compared with each other and which can be tested by their inner logical consistency. But even where external evidence is lacking, there is an inner logic, resting on pure inference, that compels assent.

Two examples may serve as illustrations. Heretofore, critics have contented themselves with the fact that the oldest accounts we have of Joseph come from the Yahwist and hence were reduced to written form about the ninth century B. C. The question, however, as to when the stories concerning Joseph originated, they have on the whole not raised. But if we go beyond the methods of literary criticism and deal with the tradition as it lies before us from the standpoint of "the history of literary material," it can be shown that this tradition grew up out of three constituent parts, each differing from the other two. The first part celebrates Joseph as the creator of his tribe; these accounts are historical. The second part has for its theme the rejected brothers, and the third the great Egyptian vizier; these stories employ literary material, that underwent various changes in the course of time until it reached its present form. The origin of the oldest version of the story, traces of which are preserved in Joseph's dream concerning the sheaves, may be assigned to the time of Gideon; the story in its present form arises from the time of Jeroboam. That is, the story attained its full development from 1100 to 900 B. C., while it lived in the mouth of the people. When it was reduced to writing, it underwent only slight changes.

The history of literary material, for the most part, reaches out beyond the Old Testament, because the parallels, that need to be adduced for purposes of comparison, lie before us in other literatures. While much has been written concerning the plant-fable, a comprehensive work dealing with the animal-fable is lacking. To the realm of fable belongs some "literary material" which is used both in the Old and New Testaments. In Isaiah 10. 15 we have a dispute between the axe and man, and in 1 Cor. 12. 14ff. a dispute between the different organs of the human body. One is usually in this connection reminded of Shakespeare's Coriolanus or of the fable of Menenius Agrippa, and, perhaps rarely, of the Upanishads of the Veda; but the strife of the stomach and the bodily members was current about one thousand years earlier or about 1200 B. C., as is evidenced by a tablet found in Turin, that came originally from Egypt. This has an important bearing on the question as to the origin of the material. So in general the investigations concerned with the

criticism of literary material are calculated to cast light on the international relations of Israelitic literature.

Whatever opinion one may form in matters of detail concerning the significance of the results which have thus far been achieved by the scientific study of "literary forms" and "literary material" or which these lines of investigation still hold out in prospect before us, in any case we have here to do with new and pioneer paths that are being opened alongside of the already beaten track of literary criticism, the aim being to reach the goal common to all, that of a history of Israelitic literature. In special praise of all this critical work inseparable from science, it may be said that it is carried on in a spirit of profound piety, and that the critics deal in a reverent way with the Old Testament tradition. So in spite of the human acumen directed toward the analysis of the biblical text and the rediscovery of the history that lay back of it, nay, rather because of this very acumen the glory of the divine revelation in the Old Testament becomes all the more resplendent.

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FOREIGN OUTLOOK

A PAPAL PROCLAMATION

POPE PIUS XI sent out a notable Encyclical to universal Romanism as a Christmas Message. Much of it is devoted to the peace of the world. He says that the church of Christ alone can give peace to the world—which is most true, if by the church of Christ is meant universal Christianity and not merely the Holy Roman Church. But we do not wish to

weaken the value of his letter to his own people. Let us hope that the new Pope is broader religiously than the bigoted Pius X or that politician, Benedict XV.

A very valuable element in this Encyclical is its noble insistence on the much neglected truth that no distinction must be made between public and private morals. Nations must conform to the same divine law as individuals, and the international code of morals must be as thoroughly Christian as that obtaining between private persons. He says: "From this it appears that Christ's peace is only possible under those conditions found in Christ's kingdom. Therefore Christ reigns over individuals, if these observe his laws; reigns over families when these keep inviolate the sacramental character of marriage, and reigns over society when this acknowledges God's supreme, universal sovereignty."

The Pope also announces that he is considering the possibility of calling a great Ecumenical Council in connection with the coming jubilee year, whose primary object shall be the peace of the world and international good will. Dare we Protestants hope that this proposed council, and the Constituent Council just held by the "Whites" of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church at Moscow will be means of modernizing both the Latin and the Greek communions and of infusing them with the evangelical spirit?

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND RELIGION

THE democratic movement in Europe has always been largely under atheistic leadership. There are reasons for that—an autocratic church which identifies itself with the tyranny of personal rule, a paganized religion that has lost the Christian sense of brotherhood and service and a Hellenized theology that makes the future life, rather than a redeemed and transformed world, the goal of suffering humanity. Who can greatly wonder that the Soviet government in Russia, hating the ecclesiastical despotism which was the strongest weapon of imperialism, covers Petrograd and Moscow with placards reading, "Religion is the opiate of the people"?

It is not Christian for us to denounce socialism, or even communism, as atheistic. The Jerusalem church when they had "all things in common" were not atheists. But the Marxian doctrine of economic determinism, with its theory of class war, *is* irreligious. It is not greatly different from the ethical theory back of the economic doctrines of the capitalistic crowd in our own and every country. To punish political propaganda in behalf of any theory of government is not only a violation of the democratic right of free speech—it is a justification of the use of revolutionary methods as the only possible method of attaining a new social order. This was the noble argument of Charles Edward Hughes when he protested against the exclusion of Socialists from the New York Legislature.

How can we save religion in Russia? Only by introducing a serving church, which stands for social and industrial democracy as the true out-

come of the spiritual democracy of the kingdom of God. The Russian *moujik*, or peasant, is naturally religious. No man, in spite of his ignorance, dirt, and passion, has greater patience, larger gift of self-sacrifice, or subtler mysticism. He needs a Christian ethic as an expression of his high spiritual aspiration.

Can any one wonder that Methodism has been able to maintain as free a field of action in Soviet Russia as any evangelical denomination? When Lenin and Trotsky have read the Methodist Discipline with its Social Creed, when they have seen the sacrificial service of Sister Anna, our deaconess in Petrograd, and when they have noted the noble programs of such men as Bishops Nuelsen, Blake, and Bast, as they face the problems of a blighted and blasted Europe, they certainly cannot see in such a vision of a social Christianity anything but an inward democracy of spirit which outranks all outward mechanical programs for industrial democracy.

It is with absorbing interest that we note the rising tide of religion in the midst of revolutionary Russia. With a sort of joyful fear one awaits the outcome of the revolution taking place in the Holy Orthodox Church. A body of its bishops and clergy, called "The Orthodox White Clergy of the Living Church," organized a Constituent Council which will meet in Moscow, April, 1923, which hopes to reform and reorganize the Russian church. The Soviet government are compelled to tolerate this movement, simply because they are aware of the religious zeal of their peasant millions. Our three Methodist bishops in Europe were assigned by our Board of Bishops to attend this council as fraternal delegates, in response to an invitation which the leaders of "The Living Church" extended to them through Bishop Nuelsen. Such attendance may be a most difficult and delicate duty but it is a high honor and a great opportunity.

What is the mission of Methodism both to Europe and to Russia? Not primarily to make them Methodist but to inject into the religious life of the churches and people the two fundamental elements of Christian life—a rich personal inward experience and an outward life of sacrificial and social service.

A POPULAR PARISIAN PREACHER

THE new Methodist Episcopal Church in Paris, France, which has been opened as a community center, has the good fortune to possess as its pastor a man who is a profound scholar, rich in philosophic insight, and a brilliant orator, the Rev. E. Wietrich. He is progressively modern in his views, placing emphasis on the Christian life rather than on dogmatic beliefs. He affirms: "I am equally the enemy of all clericalisms, Catholic or Protestant, spiritistic or theosophic, as well as those of Free Thought. I believe in a living Christianity." In a recent issue of *Le Revue du Methodisme Episcopal Français*, in discussing spiritual religion, he includes this remarkable passage:

"Do you ask me what I think of Christ? Here is my answer. The Christ for me is a great experience; he has been and still is for millions

of beings a source of life, of regeneration and of salvation. This fact is sustained both by psychology and history. For me, this is the mighty fact that interests me. When one measures the muscular strength of a man, he lets him exercise by pulling at a dynamometer and the motion of the needle gives the proof. To appreciate the spiritual value of a being, we must observe the influence he has on souls. I leave to theologians, to metaphysicians, to theosophists, the task of determining the nature of Christ and his origin, and am content to establish the marvelous efficacy of his Spirit upon souls. If, in that light, it were right to assert that God and Christ have been enriched by all the fervor and aspirations of humanity, it would still be necessary to seek whence comes the mysterious energy which has produced that galvanism in our poor humanity, so wretched and gasping for life. How if left to itself could it have done other than devour its own substance? . . . Genuine Christianity, far from fading away, belongs to the future; it is a glorious outlook, whose perspective reaches the Infinite of Thought and Love. . . . Our souls, like certain birds of the air, should know enough to emigrate, to abandon their dearest resting places, and dart toward a new heaven and a new earth. For I am sure that life, after having been wrapped here below in swaddling bands and winding sheets, shall at last clothe us with a coronation robe, incorruptible and immortal. Let us not forget that our earthly existence is nothing but a state of death between two eternities of life."

Pastor Wietrich, before his conversion to this living faith he so eloquently expounds, was a cleric of the Roman Church, teaching philosophy in its schools. Evangelical religion could have no greater acquisition in the Latin world than a man so fervent in faith, so rich in imagination, so eloquent in speech, and so sane in thinking. Having brought the pragmatic test to theology, he has attained the true Methodist ideal of Christian experience and service.

BOOK NOTICES

BOOK BULLETIN

CHARLES DARWIN once remarked to Samuel Butler that he did not believe it was reviews or advertisements but simply "being talked about" that sold a book. He was quite right, but undoubtedly a vigorous review will often cause a book to be talked about. . . . There is this defect in reviews—the best are written by men of strong convictions and they judge books from their own viewpoint. . . . Butler himself said, "Books should be tried by a judge and jury as though they were crimes, and counsel should be heard on both sides." . . . Perhaps that should be the method of the METHODIST REVIEW—have a *pro* and *con* criticism, and the editor play judge. . . . John Wesley called himself *homo unius libri*, a man of one book, meaning of course the Bible. But no man of his time read more books, both classic and current. He knew his Bible better because he brought it to an enriched intellect. The One Book illumined

all good books and the latter helped to understand it. . . . Read your Bible in the original, a bit from the Greek Testament every day. Read it in the matchless music of the Authorized Version, correcting its text and translation from the American Revision. And then read Moffatt's New Translation of the New Testament to get the flavor of the popular speech in which Paul and the evangelists wrote. . . . Don't read too many books, but take some time for thinking. Yet the mind needs exercise as much as the body and more time should be spent in the study than on the golf links. Yet decent sport may help to recreate the brain as well as the brawn. . . . Let us be a little wary of "best sellers." For a popular book is frequently not merely an easy or pleasant book to read but one that flatters folks by echoing their errors and prejudices. Only people with scrambled brains relish the novels of Harold Bell Wrong. . . . The public is not an infallible tribunal of either intellectual or moral excellence. . . . Yet the literature of power should always be adapted to the popular mind. . . . Critics are book-tasters. It is a perilous profession, one that sometimes may turn book-hunger into book-surfeit and produce mental dyspepsia. But they save readers a lot of work, for an able criticism as often steers us away from an impossible book as attracts us toward one. . . . As a mental diversion spend a little time every month browsing in a bookshop. . . . To do this and read the METHODIST REVIEW will save you much money, for you will be saved from purchasing books you don't want. . . . Here are some suggestions which may help you, if you think you can trust the writer. . . . Most of us have read Rauschenbusch's works on religious sociology, and the rest of us ought to. Now add to them Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, not perhaps to agree with all it says, but to absorb its noble ideal that the true object of all business is not profits but service. . . . All men should work either with hands or brains not to get but to give. That is Christianity. . . . And then add to that Ellwood's *Reconstruction of Religion*, which was reviewed in the September-October issue, 1922. . . . Some complain that our notices do not contain very full quotations from the books reviewed. There are good reasons for that. 1. There is danger of violating copyright laws. 2. Authors object to having their books disemboweled. 3. If a book is worth having, it should be read as a whole and not in scraps. 4. An anthology is not a review. . . . Are we saying too much about books? It may be well to imitate John Selden in his *Table Talk*, written nearly three hundred years ago: "In answering a book it is best to be short; otherwise he that I write against will suspect I intend to weary him, not to satisfy him. Besides in being long I shall give my adversary a huge advantage; somewhere or other he will pick a hole." . . . Now please read, skim, or skip our Book Notices—just as you please.

A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament. By G. ABBOTT-SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

DR. DEISSMANN, as far back as 1909, in his *Light from the Ancient East*, wrote that one of the most important tasks of New Testament

research was the preparation of a lexicon of the New Testament. He went on to deplore the fact that there was not even a manual lexicon which took account of the recent advances in etymology and the large amount of material furnished by the papyri and the inscriptions. An ideal lexicon, he claimed, should do three things: (1) it should place the vocabulary of the New Testament in living linguistic connection with the contemporary world, and (2) ascertain carefully the changes a word has undergone in various periods, also (3) simplify and put warmth into the popular concepts of primitive Christianity, artificially complicated by scholastic prejudice and a too anxious process of isolation. Such a lexicon Deissmann claims would bring out once more the simplicity, vividness and force of the utterances of evangelists and prophets, and would be of real help to the preacher in the lonely parsonage of the *Westerwald* or in the hired lodgings of the city preacher. It would help on a Saturday (*sic*) morning to unfold the thought in the sacred text to the benefit of the Sabbath congregation. Such a lexicon would, we think, be also of great service to many town and city pastors both in England and in America.

Since Deissmann wrote these words we have had Souter's pocket-lexicon of the Greek New Testament which made some small attempt to fulfill Deissmann's canons of a lexicon. Much interesting use was made of the new knowledge which Souter thinks will sweep into the dustbin a deal of the well-meant but hair-splitting theology of the past. For example, in the phrase (1 Cor. 10. 11) translated in R. V. "upon whom the ends of the ages have come," the two words, τέλος, translated "end," and καταντάω, translated "have come," the former can mean also revenues, dues, and the latter word was used of property which came down by inheritance to an heir; hence the phrase can be translated "upon whom the revenues of the ages have come down as an inheritance." Interesting light is given by Souter on such words as δοκίμιον, in James 1. 3, which means "that which is genuine," "the approved part"; ἀνάπαυσις, in Matt. 11. 27, which means respite or temporary rest as a preparation for future toil; ἁπλοῦς, "single," that is, directed toward one object; πολίτευμα, in Phil. 3. 20 translated in A. V. "conversation" and in R. V. "citizenship," is used of a colony of foreigners, whose organization is a miniature copy of the πολιτεία at home; this excellent sense Dr. Moffatt adopts in his translation, "we are a colony of heaven."

Now we have this excellent manual Lexicon by Dr. G. Abbott-Smith. The book, though issued in 1922, should bear the date 1917 or 1918, for the proof sheets were sent to the printer in 1917, but owing to the war was not published till the spring of 1922; in consequence, Dr. Abbott-Smith was not able to avail himself of the valuable lexical material found in Burton's *Galatians* and Charles' *Revelation* and parts three and four of Moulton and Mulligan's *Lexicon of the Papyri*. This lexicon is much fuller than Souter's and much more condensed and convenient to use than Thayer's Lexicon, which has done such excellent service for the last thirty years and which is very useful to-day in many respects.

Among the merits of this new lexicon are, in the first place, it

avails itself largely of the new knowledge made accessible during the last twenty-five years. Compare, for example, the discussion of the word ἀρέσκω in Thayer and Abbott-Smith.

THAYER	ABBOTT-SMITH
1. To please, Mark 6. 22; Matt. 14. 6.	1. To please, Matt. 14. 6.
2. To strive to please, to accommodate oneself to the opinion, desires, and interests of others, 1 Cor. 10. 33.	2. In late Greek, especially in Inscriptions, to render service, which meaning fits such passages as Rom. 15. 1-3, 1 Cor. 10. 33, 1 Thess. 2. 4.

1 Cor. 10. 33 can be translated, "I *serve* all men in all things," which is much better than "I *please* all men in all things." Under ἀπέχω Dr. Abbott-Smith adopts the rendering "it is enough" for ἀπέχει in Mark 14. 41 following Field, though he gives references to passages in Deissmann which show the financial uses of the word and quotes the following passages in the New Testament, Matt. 6. 2, Phil. 4. 18, where the word has a financial coloring. Souter thinks that it has a financial meaning in Mark 14. 41 and that ὁ Ἰούδας should be understood. The verse could then be translated, "Then he came to them a third time and said to them 'Still asleep? Still resting? Judas has received payment.'"

It is strange that Dr. Abbott-Smith in discussing the word ἐπιβάλλω, in Mark 14. 72, should have omitted the reference to the word in Moulton and Mulligan's Lexicon, p. 235, pt. iii, where examples of the word in the papyri are quoted with meaning "set to," hence ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν, "he set to and wept," or as Moffatt translates, "he burst into tears." How like Peter!

In the second place the lexicon contains very full references to recent commentaries and articles in various Bible dictionaries where the different words can be further studied. These form a very valuable part of the lexicon. Take for example the references under the word μυστήριον; first of all the development in the meaning of this interesting Greek word is given: 1. That which is known to the μύστης, a secret doctrine. 2. In later writers that which may not be revealed (not however as in the modern sense intrinsically difficult to understand). 3. In the New Testament the word is used of the counsels of God once hidden but now revealed in the gospel or some fact thereof. Then there are added the following references where the word can be further studied: Westcott's *Ephesians*, p. 180; Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians* 2. 34ff., Lightfoot's *Colossians*, p. 165. Hatch's article in Hastings' *Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 465. The article in the *Dictionary of Jesus Christ and the Gospels*, p. 213, vol. ii, and to these we may add the article by Kennedy in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* and the one in the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, both of which have appeared since Doctor Abbott-Smith wrote his lexicon. To derive the fullest possible benefit from this lexicon it will be necessary for many men to make a few important purchases for their libraries. There is also a very useful list of Scripture references for all the principal words.

A third merit of the lexicon is the emphasis it lays on the synonyms of the New Testament. Under the word ἁμαρτήμα are given the nine synonyms for sin in the New Testament: ἁμαρτία, ἄγνοήμα, ἀνομία, ἀσεβέια, ἠττήμα, παράβασις, παρακοὴ, παρανομία, παραπτῶμα. The distinction between the three words ἀνοχή, μακροθυμία, and ὑπομονη, translated "patience" in the versions is given as follows: ἀνοκή, forbearance, which is the result μακροθυμία; of involving the idea of tolerance, long-suffering, for example, God with sinners; ὑπομονή expresses patience with respect to things as μακροθυμία, patience with respect to persons; ὑπομονή is active as well as passive and means not only endurance but perseverance.

In the fourth place Doctor Abbott-Smith has also, following the example of Thayer, endeavored wherever possible to give the etymology of the Greek words. Take, for example, the synonyms for sin mentioned above: ἁμαρτιά, from ἀναρτάνω, literally a missing the mark; ἀγνοήμα, from ἀγνοέω, to be ignorant; ἀνομία, α = negative and νομος, law; ἀσεβεία, α = negative and σέβω, to reverence; ἠττήμια, from ἠττάω, to defeat; παράβασις, from πάρα, by, and βαίνω, to go; παραπτῶμα, from παρα and πίπτω, to fall; παρακοή, from πσρα and ἀκούω, to hear. Sin is viewed in the synonyms from various aspects, now as failure, ignorance, lawlessness, irreverence and again as defeat, transgression, disobedience, and trespass. Until Doctor Deissmann brings out his lexicon of the New Testament, all students will be greatly indebted to Doctor Abbott-Smith for this excellent manual lexicon.

Drew Seminary. J. Newton Davies.

The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development. By Julius A. Bewer. Pp. xiv+452. (Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies. Edited by James T. Shotwell.) New York: Columbia University Press. Price, $5, net.

Professor Bewer of Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University has published a volume which students of the Old Testament have long been wishing for. Every person interested in the Old Testament will find in it not only a mine of information, but a fascinating presentation of the literature of the Hebrews through the centuries. It is with genuine pleasure that the reviewer commends to the readers of the Methodist Review a volume that possesses qualities seldom found harmoniously joined in biblical investigation: it is both readable and thorough, comprehensive and compact, original and reliable, pious and scholarly.

The plan of this book is new in several respects. The standard Introductions to the Old Testament deal with the single books as units, taking them up either in the order of the Hebrew or Greek (English) canon, or arranging them topically (for example, Cornill: History, Prophecy, Poetry). This method was inevitable in the earlier stages of biblical criticism and still has its advantages. But the time has come when it is possible to write a chronological history of the extant literature of the Israelites and Jews, studying all fragments of poetry and prose pre-

served in the Old Testament in their historical, rather than in their canonical, setting. This Professor Bewer does with the skill of a master.

Again the author has left the beaten track by enriching his discussion with abundant translations from the original Hebrew. We have here an anthology as well as a literary history. Nearly all of the preexilic poetry of high quality is represented here, adding materially to the charm and usefulness of the book. In fact, the original plan (modified owing to publishing conditions due to the war) was "to publish translations of the most important texts of the Old Testament, grouped topically" (p. vii). It may safely be said that nothing has been lost by the change of plan. Both in the conception and in the execution of this plan, the author deserves the highest commendation; our one objection, if it be an objection, is that in two respects he has attempted the impossible.

First of all, the material at our command is not sufficient for a literary history of the Hebrews. Just as the historian faces an unbridged gap between 586 and 520 B. C., just as the theologian lacks all sources explaining the origin of the religious conceptions of Amos, so the literary historian has nothing but a few scattered fragments of what must have been a marvelous literary production, now lost forever. This fact is not brought out with sufficient vividness. On the contrary, we get the impression that we still have the complete text of such poems as the pæan of Myriam (Exod. 15. 21) (p. 2), and the dirge of David over Abner (2 Sam. 3. 33f.) (p. 17), when it is evident that the narrators have reported only a snatch of the original composition; a much later author supplemented the missing sections of Myriam's song with a composition of his own (Exod. 15. 1ff.). The interest of the men who collected the writings of the Old Testament into the three canons of the Law, the Prophets, and the writings was not literary, but religious: the greatest masterpieces of poetry and of prose in the Old Testament, namely, the Song of Deborah and 2 Sam. 9–20, have survived by accident, for they were demonstrably missing in the first edition of the Book of Judges and of the Book of Samuel, having been added by a later editor. This being the case, who dares say how many literary jewels perished forever either because they were not considered divinely inspired, or because they were not thought to be sufficiently edifying? The Song of Songs would have been lost had it not been interpreted allegorically, had its real meaning been fully apprehended!

In the second place the present status of Old Testament scholarship does not warrant an objective, unbiased and trustworthy history of Old Testament literature. Even if we admit that "the main lines of the development are sure enough to warrant our weaving the single literary results in a story, which in itself will be a means of judging their plausibility and validity" (p. xii), we are often compelled to dissent from Professor Bewer in special points which are not without importance. The assertion that the Law of the Covenant is "so much like the Babylonian law of Hammurapi" (p. 32), though constantly repeated, seems to me not justified by the facts. There is no foundation for the traditional view that the wife of Hosea, Gomer, was unfaithful to him (if we believe the

narrative contained in Hos. 1), nor that she should be identified with the wretched creature of Hos. 3 (p. 94f.).

In the analysis of the Deuteronomic Laws (p. 124f.) the use of modern terminology (supreme court, registrars, the office of chaplains, etc.) is rather misleading. His effort to bring logical order in the miscellaneous arrangement of these statutes seems hopeless; his twelve subdivisions are nearly as bewildering as the original. If the collectors of these laws had any plan in mind, which may be questioned, for the text shows evidence of successive expansion, it seems to have been: 1. Laws about God (Deut. 12. 1 to 17. 1); 2. Laws about the state (17. 2 to 21. 19); 3. Laws about the family (21. 10 to 22. 30); 4. Laws about individuals (23. 1 to 25. 19) (rituals: 26. 1–15). This scheme is followed only in a general sense; many of the laws are arranged without any order whatsoever.

The story of Ezra's return in 458 B. C. is so contrary to the unimpeachable testimony of Nehemiah that, in order to maintain that we have here "the memoirs of Ezra" Professor Bewer (p. 281) is obliged to transfer this event twenty years later. Even then the story remains unbelievable and, with Professor Torrey, we must admit that these "memoirs of Ezra" are the product of the fertile pen of the Chronicler, the editor of the Book of Ezra–Nehemiah.

Professor Bewer has not resisted the temptation of describing the occasions for which certain Psalms were originally written. Psa. 110 "was probably composed expressly for the coronation of Simon the Hasmonean in 142" (p. 369). Before him Professor Briggs, in his Commentary on the Psalms, had told us that Psa. 45 was composed for the marriage of Jehu! All this fiction should be excluded from scholarly investigations.

We must resist the temptation of discussing other points worthy of comment. A general agreement of Old Testament students on the solution of biblical problems is out of the question. We must be grateful to Professor Bewer for this clear presentation of the generally accepted results of biblical criticism and of his views on questions that are still *sub judice:* these contributions of his own are often excellent and always welcome and suggestive.

Harvard University. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

Historic Christianity and the New Theology. By HAROLD PAUL SLOAN, D.D. Louisville, Ky.: Pentecostal Publishing Co. Pp. 208. Price, $1, postpaid.

THIS is the first volume that has ever been written recently dedicated to the serious study of the education for the ministry of more than 1,000 candidates annually, who have not had the advantages of a college or theological training.

It is by the man who, because of brains, culture, utter devotion, mastery of the subject, and forensic ability of an unusual type, is the recognized leader of a large majority in Methodism (and of the last General Conference) who stand for a positive belief in historic Christianity and

a positive faith in the traditional doctrines of the church as set forth in the Apostles' Creed. Doctor Sloan, with many other Methodists, thinks there are those in our church who, writing under the cloak of freedom and science (a very volatile word), manifest a negative attitude toward the vital doctrines of Christianity. He proposes that all our colleges and theological schools shall have the chairs in English Bible occupied by persons who hold and practice a positive faith as set forth in the doctrinal standards of our church; the purging of The Methodist Book Concern of those books repugnant to our faith and order; and the remaking of our Conference Course of Study that it may include only those books which maintain the positive teachings that have always been regarded as essential for Methodist preachers, if they are to preach a whole gospel with power.

Doctor Sloan defines the position of the church as interpreted by the action of the last General Conference, and gives the law that was passed a careful interpretation, which we suppose he is able to do, for he wrote it. In view of the action by the General Conference that "no book should be given place in any of the courses of study except such as are in full and hearty accord with the doctrines and that outline of faith established in the Constitution of the church," the author has studied every book in the course and says: "As we read these books, it seemed to us that several deny the Atonement in Christ's death, or else set it aside; that several deny or ignore Justification by Faith; that some deal slightingly with the fact of the virgin birth, while others slight or set aside the fact of Jesus's resurrection. Some deny the fall of man and teach the exploded dogma of Darwinian evolution. Some treat haltingly the Christian supernatural, make conscience a product of social evolution and utility and relate prayer and inspiration to upgushes from the subconscious mind. They make the faith in the Incarnation an evolution of the centuries rather than an authoritative teaching of Christ; and not only the apostles but the Saviour himself is charged with error by them, and that with respect to a major item of his gospel. All this they do, and more, and many of these things are done, not in one of the books but in several."

This is his thesis. The author then analyzes the Course of Study book by book and names *New Testament History*, by Doctor Rall; *The Pupil and the Teacher*, by Doctor Weigle; *The Graded Sunday School*, by Doctor Meyer; *History of the Christian Church*, by Doctor Walker; *The Christian Pastor*, by Doctor Gladden; *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, by Doctor Hayes; and *The Five Great Philosophies of Life*, by Doctor Hyde; and points out where and how each of these books is not only out of harmony with our church standards, undermining to the faith on essential points of the Christian gospel, but names other books that cover the ground and are in his estimation better adapted as text books for the purpose, against which no such objection could be made.

Our author does not launch a broadside against these and other books and the authors, but in one of the most discriminating works we remember to have read, he points out where in many instances the same author has written many great constructive and useful books which have

been ignored in the Courses of Study, but a single volume written by the author not in a constructive mood has been put into the Course when not only have the undergraduates, who must study such books, had an injustice thrust upon them, but the author thus himself selected has been misrepresented.

For instance, Doctor Sloan objects strenuously to the inclusion of *Studies in Christianity*, by Borden P. Bowne. This does not mean, however, that he objects to Bowne as a Christian teacher, for this book pays a beautiful tribute to Bowne's philosophy, acknowledges how much the church owes to him, recommends his great constructive works and thinks some of them ought to be put in the Conference Course of Study, such as his *Personalism*, his *Principles of Theism*, his *Immanence of God*, his *Principles of Ethics*. But his *Studies in Christianity* is not a treatise or a text book, but the assembling of a group of essays written, many of them, for secular magazines, and is a somewhat miscellaneous assortment which does not represent the best or greatest constructive work of Bowne, the thinker, the intellectual leader.

This is a fair sample of his mode of criticism, and Sloan's reference will be found to be no more radical than the recently published letters of Principal James Denney to W. Robertson Nicoll: "Bowne's *Studies in Christianity* will be a seductive and impressive book to many, but he seems to me almost always just to stop short of what is most vital in the New Testament conception of Christianity. There is a lot of this kind of thinking among Canadian Methodists, and I cannot be reconciled to it. I like lucidity as much as any one, but I like still better the sense of magnitude and even of immensity in a man dealing with revealed religion. Fog is abominable, but it is not so abominable as a man who thinks he has taken the measure of the breadth and length and depth and height, and that he knows all round what passes knowledge."

We think there is no doubt that Doctor Sloan makes out a case against Prof. Williston Walker of Yale, whose book on *The History of the Christian Church* was evidently written to account for Christianity without a supernatural Christ; without a Holy Spirit; or without any substantiating facts of such accepted verities as the Virgin birth, the Resurrection of Christ, the miracles wrought by him or by his apostles. There are various histories of the Christian Church available, such as John F. Hurst's *Short History of the Church*, George R. Crooks' *Story of the Christian Church*, Moncreave's volume that was in four years ago, without putting a rationalist's explanation of the phenomenon of Christianity before our students to be accepted as having the approval of the church by its inclusion in a Course of Study that was to be in harmony with our doctrines.

He takes up two books by Doctor Rall. In *Modern Premillennialism and the Christian Hope*, "Professor Rall rejects much more than the premillennial theory of the Saviour's return itself, and makes Jesus, as well as his disciples, mistaken in respect to this major item of his teaching, and their belief. To be sure he tries to show that this is quite a reasonable situation, that Jesus was in this respect simply a child of his age,

knowing neither more nor less of history or of science than was known by men about him. But Jesus' gospel, we point out, was not a matter either of history or of science, it was a matter of his own inner spiritual certainty, and in his thought his return was a part of that gospel. If he was mistaken in this matter, his infallibility is gone, and it is gone not in respect of science, but of religion."

It is safe to say that Adam Clarke, Milton S. Terry, James M. Campbell, and a host of scholars that no man can number have come to a study of the words of Jesus bearing upon his second coming, and have found them clear and explicit in their content, and with the understanding of certain symbolical language have found a consistent and full historic fulfillment of every prediction he made or that the New Testament contains about the setting up of the Kingdom, the destruction of Judaism and the personal presence of Jesus, and it is unnecessary to discredit Jesus as a religious teacher in order to get rid of certain unpleasant absurdities that have been foisted upon the church by overzealous adventists.

One may not agree with Doctor Sloan's interpretation of the doctrines of Christianity as interpreted by Methodism, or even his interpretation of the various writers who have been selected, but every fair-minded reader will agree to the essential importance of the subject treated in this volume, and that it is certainly the best volume extant upon the subject, for it is the only one in existence.

One will see that this is not a rabid agitator rending the church, but a student, a scholar, generous to a fault in debating with opponents, guarded as to statements, conciliatory in method, kind and charitable in dealing with motives, constructive in his summary of theological beliefs and of Christian doctrines; not a heresy-hunter, wanting church trials to compel orthodoxy, but a truth-seeker, wanting a free and full discussion of the all-important matters that emerge from a study of the text books our undergraduates have had put in their hands with the implied approval of the Methodist Episcopal Church upon their contents. He is discussing principles, not persons, and when asked "Why don't you bring charges for heresy?" he would reply, "In a free and democratic church, how much better is an open discussion where the truth is likely to emerge when all sides have been heard?"

CLARENCE TRUE WILSON.

Spiritual Messages of the Miracle Stories. By GEORGE HENRY HUBBARD. Pp. xi+341. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $2.

THE gospel miracles are more than marvels—they are acted parables. They are full of moral and religious purpose. This unique distinction from ecclesiastical miracles helps us to believe in them. The miracle, therefore, should not be first approached from the apologetic standpoint, or be discussed scientifically and philosophically, but as to its spiritual message. And here is immeasurable wealth. Truth and power meet in the works of our Lord. These expositions by Mr. Hubbard are written from this point of view. So it is helpful for preaching and for devotional

reading. Such a book is worth more than a treatise on the possibility, credibility, or evidential value of miracles. This is the wheat of the gospel and not the chaff. Chaff is valuable—it protects the wheat, but the food is in the grain. Here is food for the soul.

So Cana reveals to us "The Social Christ," feeding the five thousand is "Doing the Impossible," Simon's mother-in-law was "Saved to Serve," in the demoniac of Gadere we see "Swine versus Souls," in healing by touch "The Contagion of Character." These are a few examples of thirty-eight miracles expounded. "The Crowning Miracle" is the resurrection of Jesus. It is both a historical fact and a present experience. "*The proof of immortality is the practice of immortality.*"

The real promise of the miracles is an ever-present Christ. He is in the life of to-day. "The problem of religion is always a problem of *present worth.*" "Spiritual forces are the Supreme forces." Greater works shall continue to be done through the Risen Lord. Compassionately viewing a starving world, he still commands Christian America with its abundance, "Give ye them to eat." "Love, and love alone, works true miracles, brings divine gifts to man; and that love is revealing itself wondrously to-day, healing, helping, blessing, enriching our human life in numberless ways." So the New Testament marvels come down to the present with their spiritual message.

"To tell that God is still with us
And love is still miraculous."

The book is beautifully written and is alive with present significance.

Where the Higher Criticism Fails. By W. H. Fitchett. Pp. 191. The Methodist Book Concern. Price, $1.25, net.

In this book the term Higher Criticism is used in the very elastic sense of including rationalistic attitudes toward the Bible. As this is the popular use of the phrase and as the author is writing for the benefit of plain people who are necessarily unable to specialize in a scholastic fashion on scriptural study, it is not improper to expose the numerous errors in Modernism. But students should remember that rationalism which brings to the study of the Holy Book *a priori* philosophical presumptions is not criticism at all, but is as uncritical as the traditionalist assumption of mechanical inspiration. Real criticism is the attempt to so carefully examine the sacred writings that they can be made to answer for themselves questions as to date, authorship, composition, inspiration, etc.

It must also be noted that some of Doctor Fitchett's criticisms, such as that on Principal Griffith-Jones, are somewhat too drastic. Indeed, if we were to state in scientific terms his own Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, it would probably be found not very different from that of Peake or Griffith-Jones. Of course he differs from them in many details, but not so greatly in theory.

The above paragraphs must not be regarded as undervaluing this

book for popular use. Its pious emphasis on the constructive side of scholarship gives it exceedingly high worth for the use of timid folks who need to know what gains have come to faith from modern scholarship. This picture of some pathetic failures will give them courage. And it is also worth while for many preachers who are very superficial liberalists to learn that preaching has to deal with those positive religious values which no criticism can eliminate from the Bible. In fact, this is an excellent attack on many features of so-called Modernism, which is often merely an attempt to substitute some phase of philosophy or science for Christianity. Much of it, such as Dean Inge's Platonism, is not modern in any sense. It might have been better if such words as Modernism and Rationalism were frequently substituted for Higher Criticism.

All scholars will agree with our author when he says: "The Higher Criticism, to sum up, is a perfectly legitimate branch of Bible Study; it has rendered at some points real and great service to the Christian faith, and may well continue to render that service." And all Christians will indorse this: "The divine book is not a fossil, the remains of some strange form of life dug up from ancient strata and on which geologists and antiquarians may hold learned debate, fitting bone to bone and reconstructing the living form. It is a living book. It has hands and feet and wings. It is 'quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow.' How can a problem in biology be settled by archeological or antiquarian guesses?"

The Theory of Ethics. By Arthur Kenyon Rogers. New York: The Macmillan Company.

There is a deal of difference between the satisfaction theory of theology and the satisfaction theory of ethics. The one majors in satisfaction to God; the other in satisfaction to man. But they have this in common: they frequently receive restatement. From time to time men arise to adorn one or the other of them with a new garment (sometimes merely redyed!) in the hope that the charm so added may make for acceptance. Arthur Kenyon Rogers' new book is an attempt to present ethics in this subtler form of hedonism, which by any other name smells as sweet or nauseating. His exposition is avowedly naturalistic. Those of us who have on our shelves his handy compendium *American and English Philosophy Since 1800* or any of this writer's previous output know that he is sure to be interesting even when he is far from convincing. Happy that preacher whose power of illustration approaches his. On the other hand many of his statements are brilliant rather than illuminating. Not infrequently his statements admit of various interpretations. Precision in speech is incumbent on us all, but when a philosopher fails here, he grievously wounds his cause.

There are nine chapters. One who reads the first three could guess pretty easily what the other six contain. He discusses the "Nature of Goodness," speaking of it as "*anything* we approve—the abstract charac-

ter, that is, of calling forth approval." Of "The Good and Pleasure" he asserts that "that is good which gives us pleasure when we think of it" (and not necessarily when we act). In his chapter on "Ethical Quality and the Ought" he makes much of "that æsthetic or semiæsthetic feeling of admiration." Throughout, he rings all the changes on these two words: Satisfaction, Admiration. Their ethical potency appears boundless to him. Thus when he comes to the "summum bonum" he says: "If my good is in terms of a satisfying life which takes account of all the real potentialities of my being, then the greatest good we can conceive will be the attainment of this same end by all possible beings who are of a nature capable of satisfaction." This may not be as clear as one could wish, but it suggests the idea that similarity, rather than development is at the heart of life. Other of his statements bear this out. Although "justified approval . . . implies a confidence that the way things appeal to human nature is somehow fundamental and central in the ultimate structure of the universe," "there is nothing to be gained by fitting our ideal to a world other than the one in which we live." Reading such words as these, Browning's statement about "a man's reach" and Jesus' insistence that we seek first the Realm of *God* rush to mind. No ethic will prove "satisfying" that does not posit *growth* as the end of living. The "vague generalities" concerning the Highest Good which this author decries have heartened those whom history honors most. Beholding the Invisible and "dwelling in tents . . . they looked for the city" of which not even Rand-McNally could draw the map. So unbiased a witness as Morris Jastrow long ago observed that on occasion "ethics becomes an offshoot of religion." Those who have eyes to see know that presently stewardship will change our business ethic as completely as men's reaction toward slavery has been changed.

But a book such as this one must read for oneself. One will find it hard to forgive the author for once again slaying those Kantian bogeys that so many essay to demolish. But all along this author makes you feel like arguing with him about really worthwhile things; you wonder why he did not think of so many things you think of as you follow his book. This is a capital book to read, provided you care to think.

JOHN M. VERSTEEG.

Jersey City, N. J.

The Moral Life and Religion. By JAMES TEN BROEKE. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THIS is a book to be *studied.* One wishes it were also possible to say that this is a book to be *read.* Why do people who have good things to say insist on saying them poorly? Lynn Harold Hough once contrasted William James, a psychologist who writes like a novelist, to novelists who write like psychologists (and "get away with it!"). Some of our great thinkers do write engagingly. Recall Jay William Hudson's *The Truths We Live By,* or James Bissett Pratt's new *Matter and Spirit,* or John Dewey's *Human Nature and Conduct,* or any book in which the mind of Bishop Mc-

Connell scintillates and invigorates. But here is a thinker whose rickety language jounces one's mind about. This is pity the more because he has many worthwhile things to say. He is the victim of a heavy vocabulary and so, of course, are his readers. He spurns short-cuts. There is something redolent of Calvinism in his perseverance in sentences. To the bitter end, he "piles it on." Here is one example, not extreme: "Plato and Aristotle suggested that the ideas existing in themselves, energize, realize themselves in the world of nature and spirit, but now we regard their ideas as related to ourselves as subjects who gradually render them more definite as ends by which we guide activity and experience their fulfillment as reality which in its turn develops." One turns the pages tremulously, never knowing but that on the next one there skulks some such sentence as this. If you are in search of something readable, you purchase to no purpose if you buy this book.

But if you wish to pay respect to your mind by thinking basic thoughts, by all means get this book, and manfully plow through its untoward utterances. For here is solid food (little dressing and no dessert). It is not so much that he confirms many Christian opinions, but that he renders that greater service of which Browning sensed the need: He "gives our conviction a clinch." But he does not do so in a tawdry way, nor in a brazen one. You will seek far and long to find Kant, Bergson, Lotze, Nietzsche or Ritschl discussed with more exquisite fairness. One comes from the reading of this book feeling that he has listened to an honest man. Withal, there is a sturdy advocacy of Christian views. He attempts less to make these appear reasonable than inevitable. Chapter 7, "Moral Significance of Social Organization," and Chapter 11, "The Practical Relation of Morality and Religion," are peculiarly thought-provoking.

His book has been written because "there is a tendency to abstract reality from experience" and also "to view reality as unchangeably permanent." He is more successful, and gives more space, in combating the former tendency than the latter. Yet, "because the objects of religious experience are empirically real, they may change through new and different experiences in which a new real is found or some modification of what was before occurs. . . . God's reality changes for us, but the change is that which is implied in our progress toward a constant end. Thus God is the beginning and goal of our life." "Our good . . . consists in becoming more truly persons with an increasing complexity and richness of experience, with definiteness of conditions, determined by this end."

JOHN M. VERSTEEG.

The Religion of Science. By WILLIAM HAMILTON WOOD. Pp. x+173. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, $1.50.

IT is not William Jennings Bryan but Prof. William Hamilton Wood, of Dartmouth College, who has exposed the utter futility of the religion of science and of evolution. This does not mean that scientific men or

evolutionists cannot be Christians, but that they must get their religion from God and not from nature. Not in the laboratory but in the oratory will they find moral ideals and spiritual fellowship. Naturalistic and mechanistic theories of human life cannot solve its deepest problems.

Criticism may be allowed as to traditional religious records and beliefs, but it does not destroy the religion in them. But criticism applied to the evolutionary theory does not reveal in it any substantial contribution to religion. Religion is more than knowledge in the intellectual sense of the word; it is not a product of reason or scientific investigation. It is based on a personal acquaintance with God and consequent conquest of life. A scientific religion, if there could be such a thing, would be a religion for a select few only.

The fact is that religion, and not science, has both the first and the last word of life. It gave birth to both science and philosophy. It is the source and creator of final beliefs and knowledge. Thinking alone is not religious—not even thinking about God. It is the higher call of spiritual reality and obedience to it that alone serves man. Religion is not a by-product of the intellect; it is a force behind all thought and life.

To thus perfectly upset the modern attempt to find religion in scientific discovery, as Professor Wood has done in his book, is not to discount either science or the evolutionary theory, but to make them keep their own place in the mental life and not attempt to invade the spiritual and moral realm. It is a noble apologetic against all intellectual dogmatism. Perhaps more space should have been given to a constructive statement of what is the essence of Christianity and more emphasis placed on the fact that the metaphysical scientists, whom he criticises, have been simply trying to read Christian ideals into their scientific theories. Nevertheless, this is a new and original book, dealing in an absolutely fresh manner with a fundamental problem of the present age. Both scientists and theologians should read and ponder its teachings.

I Believe in God and Evolution. By WILLIAM W. KEEN, M.V. Pp. 100. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Price, $1.

No one could be better fitted to discuss the question than Doctor Keen, one of the greatest American surgeons and a most devout Christian. This man, who by urging the introduction of Listerism into American hospitals and surgical operations has influenced the saving of thousand of lives, should be listened to by those who find a discord between religion and evolution. He knows and loves his Bible and is able to show how completely science and Scripture harmonize in their fundamental teachings. He states in this lecture, delivered at the Crozier Theological Seminary (Baptist), the fact of evolution, based on comparative anatomy, rudimentary organs, embryology, pathological similarities, geological evidence, ethnology, etc., in simple terms that all can comprehend. That bodywise God has made man of the same stuff and on the same plane as the animals does not interfere with the Scripture teaching of his divinely imparted spiritual nature that man possesses. The faith that saves the soul is not

the biological creed either of Darwin or Bryan. But the latter loses much in learning by mixing up the two. It is a perilous thing to place such dogmatic obstacles in the path of men who know science. All honor to Doctor Keen, who has so thoroughly taken down the bars and so given students a chance to be religious and scholarly at the same time.

The Early Days of Christianity. By FREDERICK C. GRANT. Pp. 320. New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.75, net.

The Apostolic Age. By WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL. Pp. 386. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $2, net.

NEITHER of these books is an elaborate treatise on the Apostolic Church and could not be substituted for such learned works as those of Weizsacker or McGiffert. But they are more fitted for class work in religious education. For this purpose that of Mr. Grant is much the better for younger classes, but by its vividness and its study suggestions. It carries the story from the ascension of our Lord to the reign of Constantine—the entire Ante-Nicene period.

Doctor Hill presents a very conservative treatment of New Testament literature. His highest value is the proper emphasis placed on the missionary spirit of the early church.

Every Christian should master two periods of church history—the first and his own. To know the beginnings will fortify faith and give inspiration for present duty.

Outspoken Essays (Second Series). By WILLIAM RALPH INGE, Dean of Saint Paul's. Pp. 275. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. Price, $2.

DEAN INGE is one of the profound thinkers of our age, and to read his writing is excellent intellectual exercise. But it is best not to agree with his philosophical standpoint. He is a Neo-Platonist, dating mentally back as far as Plotinus. He has not acquired the critical mind that belongs to the Kantian school. It is this idealism that does not believe that moral and spiritual perfection can be realized in the actual world, which gives that slightly pessimistic tinge to his thought and has given him (quite improperly) the nickname of "The Gloomy Dean." Yet it is worth while to achieve his dream of an Invisible World of Ideas, if we can call it the kingdom of God and really believe that Our Lord's Prayer will be answered and his kingdom come and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

The first long essay, "Confessio Fidei," is a brilliant Platonizing of Christianity, with some sharp criticisms of traditionalism quite worth considering. But his results are more Greek and less Christian than the opinions of Clement of Alexandria, that great Greek Father. One should read to balance this exaggerated intellectualism that greatest handbook on the subject, Hatch's *Influence of Greek Thought on Christianity* and the first volume of Harnack's *History of Dogma.*

The same atmosphere should be used while reading the second essay, "The State Visible and Invisible." It is a noble ideal to say "there can be no durable and valuable coherence in the State Visible except so far as its members are also members of the State Invisible." But we must ask this question: Is our religion never to be so fully applied to politics, business, or social life, that the unseen Kingdom shall become an outward one and this bad world be turned into a good world? To answer this affirmatively would be to avoid the gloom of the next essay, "The Idea of Progress."

"The Victorian Age" is one of the finest evaluations yet made of that period. With cool, candid, and correct criticism he notes the moral elements of that age, and our "Young Intellectuals," whose flapper-faces are painted with ignorant pride, would do well to wipe off their superficial sneer at the Victorians with this clear water.

The last three essays, "The White Man and His Rivals," "The Dilemma of Civilization," and "Eugenics," are too much influenced by the racial prejudices of some modern biologists. If the latter would study psychology more and be a bit more brotherly toward souls for whom Christ died, we would be saved a lot of recent snobbery. Scientific theories should be applied (if we can be sure of their truth) to shaping the social order. But eugenics and birth-control will do far less to counteract race deterioration than the grace of God and Christian love. The real salvation of society comes from above by an invasion of spiritual forces. Yet, in spite of this necessary censorship, Dean Inge is greatly worth reading.

The Church and the Ever Coming Kingdom of God. By ELIJAH E. KRESGE. Pp. xiv+316. New York: Macmillan Company. Price, $2.25.

HERE is another to be added to that growing list of books that seek to interpret the task of the church in terms of the social order. The author considers his theme against the background of modern biblical study and the findings of modern science.

The point of view as well as the moral passion of the book are indicated by such passages as the following: "The creation of a really Christian public sentiment in favor of steady employment and an efficient-living income for all honest citizens would be a more legitimate and effective piece of evangelism than the calling of a professional evangelist or the holding of prayer meetings to pray for the coming of the Kingdom." "I refuse to cast the first stone at the man who uses the tithe of a $600 or $700 income to buy an extra bottle of milk for his babies or a new hat for his wife, rather than give it to the church." "If the soft-handed rich and their hireling supporters, who have never shed an honest drop of sweat in their life, would be obliged to dig coal under the ground, or stand beside the molten lead in a blast furnace, for eight hours a day and six days a week, for seventy cents an hour, every one of them would become an ardent unionist within six months, and they would be among the first to vote for a strike for a six hour day, a five and a half day week, and one dollar an hour pay."

The preacher who is acquainted with the literature of social Christianity in its modern interpretation, from Rauschenbusch, by whose spirit and point of view the author has been greatly influenced, to that significant report of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook "The Church and Industrial Reconstruction," which the author does not mention, will find little that is new or suggestive here. But one whose chief reading has been in some other field may find the book a sympathetic and helpful approach to a consideration of the social task of the church.

WINIFRED CHAPPELL.

TEN BOOKS ON PREACHING

That the Ministry Be Not Blamed. By JOHN A. HUTTON, D.D. New York: Hodder and Stoughton. Price, $1.50.

The Art of Preaching. By CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.75.

The Freedom of the Preacher. By WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.25.

Preaching and Sermon Construction. By PAUL B. BULL, M.A. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

The Art of Preaching in the Light of Its History. By EDWIN CHARLES DARGAN. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.75.

The Hebrew Prophet and the Modern Preacher. By H. J. PICKETT. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.

Types of Preachers in the New Testament. By A. T. ROBERTSON, LL.D. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.75.

Homiletics. A manual of the Theory and Practice of Preaching. By PROFESSOR M. REU, D.D. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House. Price, $2.

Preaching as a Fine Art. By ROLAND COTTON SMITH, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, 75 cents.

The Christian Message and Other Lectures. By JAMES IVERACH, D.D. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.50.

PREACHING will never grow out of date so long as man continues to influence his fellowmen through the living voice. The word preaching is often used in an elastic sense of all utterances that express convictions or surmisings from the platform, through the press and in the pulpit. Such a general understanding of the preaching office is no doubt justifiable. "There are many kinds of voices in the world," says Paul, "and no kind is without signification" (1 Cor. 14. 10). The important question, however, relates to the substance of the message, which determines the character of the preaching.

Christian preaching has to do with the gospel of Jesus Christ. If we restrict it to what is said by the man in the pulpit, it is not because of any claim to monopoly but to concentrate our thought for the present

to one of the distinctive ministries of the church. Any attempt to minimize it or to set it in a lower place than it has held in the estimation of the church would spell disaster to the cause of Christianity. On the other hand, every effort to understand the conspicuous significance of this calling, to reassure us of its indispensable worth, and to increase its scope and power, would bring in a better spirit of appreciation of the demands made on the preacher and encourage him to meet them.

They who know most about preaching are the practitioners of this superb art, who maintain an open mind for the discovery of truth and cultivate a growing sensitiveness to the winds of the Divine Spirit that have blown over the centuries and still continue to fructify and refresh mankind. Such men do not suffer from "intellectual frugality" or spiritual paucity of resource, but give proof of being reputable dispensers of "the unsearchable riches of Christ." The following books meet this test in varying degrees of acceptability.

Those who have read Dr. Hutton's stimulating volumes of sermons and essays will understand why in these lectures on preaching he lays the greatest emphasis on what the preacher should say. It is therefore most pathetic and tragic when he is concerned with answering questions that no one is putting, and talks about trivial things and minor matters with insufferable tediousness. He should have "a background of sound thinking and sincere unforced imagination, and a certain saneness and inevitableness of appeal such as shall dispose able and serious and disquieted men to consider anew the proposal of our Lord, which it is the decisive function of his church to recall to the mind and conscience of men that it may not die, and that man may not finally fail" (p. 192). This is the gist of a strong argument for responsibilities that no preacher could disregard.

Dean Brown has a genius for preaching. The ripe experience of thirty-three years of successful pulpit work in Methodism and Congregationalism is given in these Yale lectures. He combines theory with practice in a most attractive way, and his points are forcibly made with illustrations from his varied activities as pastor and professor. The purpose of pulpit ministration is to make people immediately conscious of the presence of God in Christ. What he writes about expository preaching is most timely. No one has demonstrated its superior qualities better than Dean Brown, in his previous course of Yale lectures on *The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit* and in other writings. This is one of the best books on the making and giving of a sermon.

Doctor Merrill of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, understands thoroughly, sees clearly and speaks wisely of the work of the Christian minister. His freedom is determined by the obligations and limitations of his calling, well expressed in Bergson's sentence that "life is freedom, inserting itself within necessity, and turning it to its profit." Those who declare that independence and initiative are hampered in the ministry should read these Yale lectures and disabuse their minds of the cant that parades in the guise of liberty. Dr. Merrill knows all about our difficulties, but he is not disconcerted. This is one of the most

sensible books on the work of the minister, as prophet, preacher, priest, churchman, administrator, interpreter of the social and the world order, who finds and expresses his freedom in Christ.

After taking exception to Mr. Bull's sacramentarianism and to certain offensive remarks on Protestantism, his volume could be heartily commended as one of the best manuals on preaching. He writes with the enthusiasm of conviction and the reader feels the thrill that stirs this writer. The chapters on "Prophet and Priest," "The Preacher's Aim," "The Preacher's Life," "The Immediate Preparation," "Dialectic," "Rhetoric," "The Enrichment of the Sermon" are full of wisdom and insight. The last chapter on "Sectional Addresses" takes up the personal problems of men, women and youth with searching directness. The young preacher who heeds these counsels would be warned against what one has described as "a rambling and incoherent sermon, interspersed with trite observations and conventional platitudes." There are copious extracts from different writers on various phases of the subject.

What is the testimony of the centuries to the virtue of preaching? Doctor Dargan gives the answer in a splendid historical survey. In a sense this is a digest of his two large volumes on *A History of Preaching*. In this brief historical résumé, special attention is given to the explanation and application of homiletical principles, as these were used by the great preachers. The preacher of to-day is in a truly noble succession. He should dignify his calling by becoming more proficient and efficient, as did the noble men mentioned in these stimulating pages.

What the Fernley lecture is in Wesleyan Methodism that the Hartley lecture is in Primitive Methodism. Some fine volumes have been published in connection with this latter foundation. One of the latest was *The Revelation of John* by Professor A. S. Peake. The present volume by William Pickett maintains the high grade of Christian scholarship. The first part is a comprehending and discerning study of Hebrew prophecy. The second part deals with Christian preaching as the prophetic declaration of the gospel of redemption. It is just the kind of book that American preachers would welcome.

Professor Robertson has taught about five thousand preachers during a period of thirty-five years. His sympathetic solicitude for the average man and his deep understanding of his needs, are finely revealed in these studies of the lesser known characters of the New Testament. Some of the temptations common to preachers are squarely faced in the chapter on "Judas the Traitor of Our Lord." If "Diotrephes the Church Regulator" is a type of layman, who has made life miserable for preachers, "Lydia the Preacher's Friend and Helper" is one of those gracious types whose influence has been a benediction.

Professor Reu covers the entire realm of homiletics in this discussion of the preaching office. At times he yields to the professorial weakness of dogmatism and some of his criticisms of fellow-teachers are in poor taste. The book, however, is a valuable contribution toward a knowledge of the Lutheran type of sermon, which lays more stress on confessional preaching. Each of the chapters is prefaced with a full bibliog-

raphy, in which continental authors are conspicuous. There are also extensive quotations from every school of homiletical thought.

The sermon is a means to the end. The preacher with a vivid personal experience of God will create the atmosphere of faith, and, in the spirit of the genuine artist, he will fashion the nature of his hearers into the likeness of Jesus Christ. Doctor Smith stimulatingly develops this thought in two lectures, which help the preacher to give a definite answer to the oft-repeated question, "What is God like?"

The recent death of Principal Iverach at the advanced age of eighty-three years removed one of the keenest theologians of the Christian Church. As a mediator between science and religion, his *Christianity and Evolution*, and *Is God Knowable?* proved unsurpassed ability. His last volume is included here on account of the first five lectures on preaching, viewed in its relation to the personality and message of the preacher. The remaining seventeen addresses and essays are on subjects of interest to the preacher. One quotation must be made from the sermon on "Truthing It in Love," preached in Saint Giles' Cathedral before the University of Edinburgh. "The test of life differs greatly from the academic test, yet the one should prepare for the other; keep that disinterested love for the ideal which has been fostered here; keep that recognition of the necessities which guard belief and thought and action; maintain in all their freshness, purity, and luster, those high hopes and great ideals which are your possession to-day; descend not to second-rate ideals of life or work, which are absolutely fatal to both. Never let work out of your hands less well done than you can do. Never say to yourself, this is not up to the mark, this is not so well done as I could have done it, had I taken more pains, but it will do, it will pass" (p. 317). This is bracing counsel for workers in every field of activity.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Idea of God. By C. A. BECKWITH. Pp. xiii+343. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. Price, $2.50.

THERE continues to be a steady output of good books on the perennial problem of the nature and purpose of God, and the reasons we have for believing in him. W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy*, and W. R. Sorley, *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, take high rank among such books. To these one may add without hesitation this last book of Professor Beckwith. For the student who desires to be made acquainted with the long course of theistic discussion, and with the form that theistic belief is taking at the present time, it is perhaps the most valuable of the four. Hocking's is greater in sheer power of thought, but it is concerned chiefly with one particular theory, and it is marred by an exceedingly difficult style. Pringle-Pattison's is greater in critical acumen, in mastery of the material, and in argumentative force. Sorley's is greater in sustained power of reasoning, and in the elucidation of what is implied in the fact of moral value. But the appeal of all three books

is primarily to the professional student of the subject. The value of Beckwith's book is in the fact that it puts within reach of the working pastor and the interested layman the best historic and contemporary thought on this vital question of belief in God. The style is clear and not too technical; the arrangement is simple and orderly; and while there is necessarily much criticism, the book nowhere shows any controversial bitterness.

Professor Beckwith is wholly a modern man. He takes for granted the modern view of things. It is just because he does this that he feels that the theistic faith needs to be restated. He is as remorseless as Kant in his rejection of the traditional "proofs." The position maintained is frankly that of an ethical monotheism, but this is not held to require that we cling to outworn speculations concerning the Absolute which spring rather from a metaphysical than from a religious interest. Professor Beckwith thinks that it is no longer possible to retain the old scheme of a God living from eternity in self-contained and self-sufficing bliss, who finally decides to create a world for the manifestation of his power and glory. God is conceived as the "Creative Good Will," who is that by his very nature, who has always been that, who therefore is not to be separated from his own activity, and whose nature and character are to be inferred from those "ends" which his activity is obviously intended to realize. Our chief reason for believing in such a God is our very experience of his purposive activity. The belief, however, is not one that we are forced to, whether or no. Professor Beckwith's method is pragmatic, and pragmatism involves the will to believe. "The idea of God as a Purposive Will may be true, and if so, is worthy to command the supreme devotion of the human will. It can be known to be true only if in response to that devotion it proves itself valid by filling life with a divine content and eternal meaning" (p. 306).

Modern thinking is emphasizing the purposiveness of life, the continuous emergence of the new, the permanence of the idea of value, personal and social, the variability of the content of the value-idea, and the spirit of Jesus as the criterion by which God and man and the nature of the Supreme Good and the Chief End are to be judged. Professor Beckwith attempts to state the idea of God in keeping with these various points of view.

One of the least satisfactory parts of the book is the discussion of the personality of God. One feels that it is the *term* that is being retained rather than that which the term must be properly held to connote. The author's claim is that the conception of Divine Personality is to be reached not by an analysis of what personality is supposed essentially to be, but by an understanding of the character of the ends which are disclosed in the universe, and which we must suppose are being sought by God and therefore are the index to his nature. The principle adopted is that that is personal which seeks personal ends. It would seem that the next step is obvious, namely, the assertion that such ends as Truth and Beauty and Goodness, which are plainly sought in the universe, require a God who is able to conceive them, to be interested in them, and to plan for their

realization. It is difficult to see why there should be any hesitation in attributing to such a God "self-hood, self-consciousness, self-control, and power to know" (cf. p. 301).

On the whole, however, the book is eminently constructive. The closing chapter on "The Living God," with its discussion of certain practical features of belief, may be read with great profit again and again. Take, for example, this statement on prayer: "The first condition of fruitful prayer is to accept the world we live in, in every way to strive to ascertain the meaning of it and how to realize its ends—and this is the function of prayer—and then with heart and soul give oneself to the furthering of the Divine Will in which alone our wish comes to its consummation" (p. 328). Or this: "When the shadow falls and sorrow and loss have darkened all our world and we sit alone and disconsolate by the ashes of our hope, we may still recall the light and joy of other days; we may comfort our hearts with the assurance that the world as it is created by a Good Will, wiser than our wisdom, more just than our measuring-rod of right, more tender than our gentlest compassion, and more worthy of our trust than all our imperfect conceptions of His goodness. . . . In this confidence we go forward to meet what life has to offer, even its sorrow and loss, safe in the will of the Living God" (p. 335). It is thus that the book ends. While it can nourish such a faith as that, theology will not be without justification.

EDWIN LEWIS.

Drew Theological Seminary.

Character and Opinion in the United States. By GEORGE SANTAYANA, Late Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $3.50.

Soliloquies in England and Later Soliloquies. By GEORGE SANTAYANA. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $3.50.

"GEORGE SANTAYANA's lack of influence in proportion to the weight of his contribution to philosophical sanity and clarity, perhaps due in part to the academic distrust of literary gifts, is also not unconnected with a tone of condescension which he is apt to adopt toward competing views, as calling rather for indulgence than for serious argument. In consequence his work is more impressive as an imaginative picture of a certain outlook on the spiritual life of man, than for its explicit dialectical grounding." So writes Professor Arthur Kenyon Rogers in his recent *English and American Philosophy Since 1800* (p. 351).

There is a certain aloofness, not without sympathy, in Santayana's attitude. This is evidenced in these two volumes which interpret American and English life more discerningly than many recent impressionistic sketches. He looks beneath the surface and beyond the passing show and reports favorably, with suggestions that contemplate better things. As a student, instructor and professor in Harvard University, he enjoyed the friendship of leaders of thought in the United States and in other lands.

He therefore writes as a citizen of the Republic of Learning. His estimates of character and opinion are profoundly persuasive though not always complimentary. The titles of the chapters of his book on the United States are: "The Moral Background," "The Academic Environment," "William James," "Josiah Royce," "Later Speculations," "Materialism and Idealism in American Life," "English Liberty in America." His conclusion is that "American life *is* free as a whole, because it is mobile, because every atom that swims in it has a momentum of its own which is felt and respected throughout the mass, like the weight of an atom in the solar system, even if the deflection it may cause is infinitesimal. In temper America is docile and not at all tyrannical; it has not predetermined its career and its merciless momentum is a passive resultant" (p. 211).

He believes that the leveling tendency of English liberty is seen to greater advantage in America than in England itself. What he means by this is set forth in *Soliloquies*, written with a detachment, free from illusions and with an eagerness that is decidedly appreciative. There is a quiet serenity in his observations, and, ever and anon, he takes issue with the idealistic philosophy because it cuts loose from reality. The chapter on "Dickens" is about the richest, but this is only another way of saying that this book is an accurate portrayal of English life and manners. It should be read not only by those who have a warm place in their heart for England but by all who would know the secret of a nation which is the leading custodian of the world's liberty. Since the peace of the world depends on Anglo-American friendship and cooperation, let all students read both these books.

The fundamental criticism of such writers as Santayana and Dean Inge is that they are still under the tyranny of the Greek absolute. A little less Platonism and a bit more Pragmatism would enliven both of them.

A Short History of the World. By H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $4.

Two years after *The Outline of History*, which was noticed in the Methodist Review for September, 1921, Mr. Wells with amazing industry and ability offers this new history. It is not an abstract of the larger work but written afresh for a more general public, without notes and discussions. It is a panoramic survey and very readable. It is almost in the style of a novel. The series of cameo sketches could hardly be excelled. The characterizations are swift but lucid and the conclusions are impressive though not always convincing.

Mr. Wells follows the history through the centuries in three hundred and eighty-five pages, filled with illustrations, after having disposed of the ages before man's advent in forty-two pages. He leaps from one country to another and from one period to its successor, with the agility of a trained mental athlete. Throughout the history we see the progress of ideas making for the greater freedom of the human mind and spirit.

Some epochs were more significant than others, as for instance the sixth century B. C. What he writes of the Hebrew prophets is the more striking, when placed in the entire context of the movement for religious and social liberty. These men marked "the appearance of a new power in the world, the power of individual moral appeal, of an appeal to the free conscience of mankind against the fetish sacrifices and slavish loyalties that had hitherto bridled and harnessed our race" (p. 126). That the Punic Wars were called forth by a struggle between Aryan and Semite, which has continued through the centuries, is a new reading of the inevitable clash between divergent ideals and temperaments, in which religion has had no small part.

This history does justice to the common man. Carlyle's theory of the strong man finds no support, and rightly so. To be sure, there are omissions and mistakes but in no other book is the story of the human race correlated and narrated quite as suggestively. The conclusion is optimistic. "Man is still only adolescent. His troubles are not the troubles of senility and exhaustion but of increasing and still undisciplined strength. What man has done, the little triumphs of his present state, and all this history we have told, form but the prelude to the things that man has got to do" (p. 427). Thank you, Mr. Wells, for the assurance that it is to be better farther on. We therefore thank God and take courage.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Jesus as Judged by His Enemies. By JAMES H. SNOWDEN (The Abingdon Press, $1.75). The favorable testimony of friends is encouraging, but that of apponents is wonderfully reassuring. This book brings together the hostile criticisms, prejudiced judgments and shortsighted charges of the enemies of Jesus, which Doctor Snowden points out were really compliments unwittingly paid to the Master. This original study of the Gospels furnishes an impressive apologetic for the sublime character of our Saviour.

What is There in Religion? By HENRY SLOANE COFFIN (Macmillan, $1.25). Using the Hudson River as a parable Doctor Coffin shows in a series of interesting chapters that, just as this river imparts benefits to the land through which it flows, so religion gives us refreshment, cleansing, power, illumination, fertility, buoyancy, serenity, adventure, beauty, unity, permanence. This is a novel treatment of the spiritual wealth and sufficiency obtained through the companionship of Jesus.

The Four Gospels. By J. M. FULLER, M.A. (Macmillan, $1). This harmony follows the Authorized Version. Since Mark was used by the other two Synoptists it would have been better if it was placed in the first column. The four maps illustrating the journeys of Jesus are a decided help.

Christianity and Problems of To-day (Scribners, $1.25). These dis-

cursive lectures on the Bross Foundation endeavor to relate current problems to the teaching of Jesus. They do not offer any new contribution to our knowledge of the subject and merely reiterate what is virtually acknowledged by every one.

The Son of Man Coming in His Kingdom. By ALFRED GANDIER, LL.D. (Doran, $1.25). Principal Gandier of Knox College, Toronto, interprets the coming of Christ not as a specific event, as the literalists maintain, but as a historical process, looking toward a final consummation when God shall be all and in all. Those who seek to be convinced of the larger truth rather than to be confirmed in foregone conclusions will find this book worth while.

Bible and Spade. By JOHN P. PETERS, Ph.D. (Scribners, $1.75). Archaeological research has confirmed the historicity of the Bible and helped to a clearer understanding of many passages which were unintelligible for lack of facts. Doctor Peters writes out of a full knowledge and with an enthusiasm born of extensive exploration and excavation. It is the one book to read for up-to-date information and for luminous interpretations of both Old and New Testaments. An index of Scripture references would have increased the value of this welcome guide book. Many fine photographs are reproduced.

Some Things that Matter. By LORD RIDDELL (Doran, $2). In a genial and colloquial manner, Lord Riddell offers counsels on reading, observing, concentrating, public speaking, thinking, weighing evidence. Such a book is a decidedly helpful manual for all who seek self-improvement. The preacher could not do a better service than to encourage his young people to read it. In fact, the second half of the book should be read by everybody, to guard against the quackeries of vagrant thought and shallow nostrums that misguide the unwary and deceive the credulous.

The New Testament. Parallel Edition. By JAMES MOFFATT, Litt.D. (Doran, Four editions ranging in prices from $2.50 to $6). The New Translation by Professor Moffatt first appeared in 1913. It has justified itself as a welcome version of the New Testament in modern English of the best available Greek text. The present edition places the Authorized Version and Moffatt's translation side by side. The reader could thus see at a glance the differences between the two and have a better understanding of their common aim, which is to make clearer and more compelling the voice of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. An extended Introduction discusses questions of criticism and translation which every student will want to read.

Spiritual Energies in Daily Life. By RUFUS M. JONES, Litt.D. (Macmillan, $1.50). Another book on the deeper realities of Christian experience by the leading American authority on mysticism. Our troubles are due to failure to live at the center and to keep in communion with the Source of divine power. These meditations show the better way of

realizing the inward renewal of life, that helps us to counteract the moral upheaval, to supply the spiritual emptiness and to possess contentment and peace in Christ.

Man and the Two Worlds: a Layman's Idea of God. By WILLIAM FREDERICK DIX and RANDALL SALISBURY. Pp. xii + 177. (Harper and Brothers, $1.50). These two university-bred business men have from their boyhood discussed together religious and philosophical subjects. After a long struggle with the age-long problem of evil, they have reached a supposed solution in an interesting form of dualism. There are two worlds—a spiritual world of which God is Maker and Ruler and a dead stodgy material universe that an infinitely good God could not have created. Evil is simply caused by man ignoring the spiritual and surrendering to the physical side of life. Very clever, *but*—it ignores the fact that moral empire is more certainly established when we have a God who, by self-limitation of his infinitude, will not use force to create righteousness. This may not solve all problems, but it is better to untie knots than to cut them. Yet it was good for these two men to think out these questions; they may not have reached the correct theological answer but they have certainly enriched their own souls religiously.

The Dramatic Instinct in Religious Education. By THOS. W. GALLOWAY. Pp. 115. (Pilgrim Press, $1.75). The story and the play are of first importance in the process of education. This is a useful handbook in the dramatic method and shows how churches can construct their own biblical dramas. Five well wrought examples are given in this book, two from New Testament parables and three from Old Testament stories. Dr. Galloway is an efficient master in pedagogy.

Who's Who in the Universe? By JAMES ROBERT GETTYS. Pp. 116. (The Abingdon Press, $1). Who's who? not brawn, bullion, or even brain, except at its best, is sovereign in the world. Not by scales, or tape measures, or by dollars, can man be measured but by the golden reed of the heavenly sanctuary. The supreme values are not quantitative but qualitative. And the mind that shall make to-morrow is not the pagan intellect of the "Young Intellectuals" but the Higher Mind that comes from God. The real Superman is God's man. A fine book for young folks and others.

The Meaning of the Cross. By EDWARD GRUBB. Pp. 157 (Doran, $1.50, net). In the London Times Literary Supplement is the following excellent analysis of this work: "Mr. Grubb, one of the most influential of religious writers in the Society of Friends, gives here a useful summary of the meaning and doctrine of Atonement in the Old and New Testaments, in medieval, reformation and modern times. A last chapter suggests the factors of what Mr. Grubb thinks must be the true solution of the problem—his view being in some ways a development of the Abelardian doctrine, revolutionary in the twelfth century, which rejected the ransom theory in favor of the moral influence theory. But Mr. Grubb adapts it

to modern thought—to scientific psychology, to Ritschl's insistence on a solution that is social; and comprising in the conception of Atonement the revelation of the character of God, our identification with his will, deliverance from sin rather than from punishment, and salvation by God's gift of love to us."

Handbook for Workers with Young People. By JAMES V. THOMPSON (The Abingdon Press, $1.25). A splendid ideal is outlined in this book of practical suggestions. The attention is focused on the Sunday-school, which is regarded as the preeminent agency for training young people. One of our misfortunes, no doubt, is the excessive overlapping in church work; but the frequent references to the young people's department should have included fuller mention of the Epworth League. A preacher is quoted as saying that "the most effective evangelistic force in our church is the cabinet of our young people's department" (p. 204). Is this not the Epworth League? If this organization had done nothing else but conduct the recent summer institutes, its existence would be amply justified. There should have been a chapter on how to correlate the existing societies of the church at work among the young people.

Citizen, Jr. By CLARA EWING ESPEY. Pp. 206 (The Abingdon Press, $1.25).

Christian Citizenship. By FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL. Pp. 93 (The Methodist Book Concern, 75 cents, net). It is not possible to adequately review Bishop McConnell's book. No better text-book on religion in its relation to civics is available. A Young America, trained in these high ideals of the social and economic order, would lead to a transformed world. The needs of a social gospel, the rights and duties of citizenship, the problems of labor, health and morals, Americanization and world citizenship—all are treated with full freedom, absolute sanity, and in the atmosphere of the kingdom of God. It is admirably arranged as a study-book with excellently stated questions for thought and discussion. Miss Espey's book is admirably adapted for children and is written in much the same spirit.

Our Protestant Heritage. By W. WOFFORD T. DUNCAN. Pp. 130 (The Methodist Book Concern, $1, net). These three noble sermons discuss ably the intellectual, moral, and spiritual heritage of Protestantism. And they present the argument not by K. K. K. methods (which are not Protestant but Romanist in their spirit) but in a sane, sound, and kindly way. Protestantism stands for political, intellectual, and spiritual liberty. It welcomes criticism as Rome does not. Doctor Duncan, by these discourses, rendered a high religious service in Pittsburgh at a critical moment of religious conflict. His ironic messages are mightier in their power than invective can ever be. They not only furnish matter, they suggest true method to our preachers and everybody.

The Ideals of France. By CHARLES CESTRE. Pp. 325 (The Abingdon Press, $2, net). The world owes much to France. These Bennett lec-

tures delivered at the Wesleyan University reveal richly the contributions she has made to the ideals of mankind. And there is a far more lovable France than that sometimes disclosed in its political leadership. For it has given us faith and chivalry, ideals of equality and solidarity, contributions to culture, and progressive idealism—all of which are more than her own—they are her gift to humanity. Professor Cestre, of the Sorbonne, has charmingly unveiled the fairest features of France. They are worth looking at.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Some of the more important of these books may be fully reviewed in the future.)

A Harmony of the Gospels. By A. T. Robertson (Doran, $2.50, net). A thorough revision with added up-to-date material of Broadus' *Harmony.*

In the Footsteps of the Master. By J. H. Masterman (Macmillan). Sermon Outlines on the Gospel of Mark—104 of them in 125 pages!

The Evangelistic Cyclopedia. By G. B. F. Hallock (Doran, $3, net). Full of texts and themes for revivals, but no adequate program for training in personal work.

Bible Types of Modern Women. By W. MacKintosh MacKay (Doran, $1.50, net). The author of that excellent book, *The Disease and Remedy of Sin,* admirably portrays Bible women in the light of to-day.

The Great Evangelistic Opportunity. By John Walton (The John C. Winston Co., 75 cents). The child is the supreme opportunity of the church. Saved childhood will bring a saved world.

Self-healing Simplified. By George Landon Perin (Doran, $1.50, net). A very thorough and quite interesting statement of cure by Autosuggestion from the religious standpoint. But diet and doctor must not be neglected.

Syllabus for Old Testament Study. By John R. Sankey (Doran, $2, net). A good book for yesterday but not now.

Yellow Butterflies. By Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews (Scribners, 75 cents). A touching tribute to the Unknown American Soldier in the form of a beautifully told story of a mother who imaginatively identifies him with her missing boy.

Via Sacra. By T. H. Marlow (Hodder & Stoughton). Very edifying expositions on many themes.

The Epistles of Saint John. By H. Pakenham-Walsh (S. P. C. K.). This volume in the Indian Church Commentaries is scholarly in its exegesis and devout in exposition.

Real Religion. By Gipsy Smith (Doran, $1.35, net).

The Gospel of Sovereignty. By J. D. Jones (Doran, $1.75, net). Great sermons by one of England's greatest preachers.

Ecclesiastes. By A. Larkin Williams (Macmillan). This volume in the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges is a necessary supplement to Plumptre's *Ecclesiastes* in the same series. Nothing better.

The Living Christ and the Four Gospels. By R. W. Dale (Doran, $1.25, net). A reprint of a notable book published more than thirty years ago. Its value endures.

The Settlement Horizon. A National Estimate. By Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy (Russell Sage Foundation, $3, net). Probably the best text-book existing for the settlement movement. It is more than a sociological treatise—it is rich in human interest and in suggestion for the social and recreational work of the church.

A READING COURSE

The Epistle to the Hebrews. Its Doctrine and Significance. By E. F. Scott, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $3.

There were many strands of thought and experience in the apostolic church. Divers accents and emphases were both tolerated and welcomed, provided the differences were subservient to the fundamental acceptance of the sublimely central leadership of Jesus Christ. The New Testament writings are not dogmatic declarations but dynamic expositions of the great verities. They took cognizance of the varieties of temperament and opinion, and reckoned with the principle of development in the conception and power of the evangel, as attempts were made to meet the needs of Judaism, of paganism, and of the growing Christian consciousness.

These writings might be divided according to types of thought and experience. The *ethical* type is represented by the Synoptic Gospels, the Epistles of James and of Peter; the *evangelical*, by the Epistles of Paul; the intellectual, by the Epistle to the Hebrews; the *mystical*, by the Apocalypse, the Epistles of John and Jude, and the Fourth Gospel. And yet none of these were exclusive, for the distinctive elements of each were also measurably found in all. Here, then, is the glory of Christ, that in him all types found holy unity. The New Testament is an apologetic not so much in defense of Christianity as an interpretation of it. It was addressed primarily to Christian communities, to clarify their thought, to remove misunderstandings, to suggest the relation between essentials and incidentals in doctrine, to establish and apply the permanent principles by which Jew and Gentile, bond and free, proletariat bourgeoisie and aristocrat, educated and unlearned, might find a common ground for the practice of Christian virtues, in the unity of the Spirit of Christ, the bond of perfectness.

We are accustomed to think of Paul and John as exercising a monopoly of influence in the early church. As a matter of fact there were Christian communities, independent of these two leaders, among whom free speculation was practiced, more especially after the early days of enthusiasm had passed. These stressed the importance of gnosis, and al-

though it was fraught with danger, as we know from the history of gnosticism, "it brought a wealth of new ideas and principles into Christian theology." This significant movement is represented by the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Parousia hopes were not realized and apocalyptic beliefs did not appeal to this class of Christians. There was, moreover, a decay of faith and earnestness under the pressure of trials, and the Christian appeals, effectual in the preceding generation, failed to quicken a response from them. They had lost their grip and were in danger of being completely bowled over. It is to them that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. This letter of enlightenment, encouragement, and exhortation expressed the conviction that Christianity, however noble its past, has not yet run its course and that it has a peculiarly timely message for the perplexed mind and the distressed spirit. We are in a similar dilemma, so that the study of this Epistle, with the aid of Professor Scott's able volume, will help us to meet our own issues. We do not agree with him that the Epistle was addressed to a gentile community and not to one composed largely of Jewish Christians. We are not convinced that this unknown author minimized the distinction between Judaism and Christianity. But more germane to our purpose is the general trend of Doctor Scott's exposition that bears on our necessities. Read his chapter on "The Historical and Religious Value of the Epistle."

This Epistle has manifest limitations. The omissions were doubtless occasioned by a desire for simplification. "We miss the magnificent freshness and ardor of Paul." The writer does not enlarge upon "the essential newness of Christianity," because when he wrote Christianity had been established, although in comparison with the prevalent religions it was only of yesterday. The point he emphasized was not as to newness but genuineness, which proved its providential adaptation to every condition. He concentrated on a few matters which had relevancy to the spiritual needs of his readers and omitted other important questions that did not bear on the causes of their disillusionment and uncertainty. A preacher need not furnish a whole system of theology in every sermon, nor is it a sign of wisdom when he answers questions that no one is asking, because they bear on dead issues. It requires courage and the originality of independent thinking to adjust one's message to new needs without modifying the accepted fundamentals of the church. One who undertakes this may be exposed to the charge of inconsistency. The writer of this Epistle found it both compatible and congenial, and withal mandatory, to have affinities with Primitive Christianity and Alexandrian thought. So also does the modern preacher accept the conclusions of science without feeling that they militate in the least against the essential truth as it is in Jesus (Eph. 4. 21). This early writer took his stand on current beliefs but developed larger conclusions from them. "He was anxious to discover new possibilities, new reaches of truth, in the message that had come down to him, but only on the condition that the message itself was to stand unchallenged" (p. 76). His constant appeal is to go on to perfection, for it is better farther on (Ch. 6. 1).

The period was one of the most critical in all the history of the

church, probably second only to that through which we are passing. This letter is the chief witness to the feeling of spiritual exhaustion which had overtaken the church, as the century drew toward its close. It has been well said that, "construction is harder than criticism, though criticism is always popular." This unknown thinker, who is the connecting link between Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel, gave himself to the difficult task of construction. He looked through the flames in which Church and State were being consumed together and boldly declared that the rocks were not burning and showed no signs of passing away. As Professor Rendell Harris put it: "The situation was not a call to fear but to faith and to the reception of grace, fresh and new grace, whereby they may under new conditions serve God and adorn his gospel."

There have been other critical periods in the history of the church, when the foundations were apparently giving way. It was due to the Christian thinkers that the church was rescued from lapsing into a state of sheer inertia. In the fifth century, Augustine set forth a Christian philosophy of history in his *Civitas Dei*. In the fourteenth century, Dante expounded the thought of an international empire based on love and brotherhood in *De Monarchia*, at a time when both Church and State were suffering from decadence. Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion* was written to meet the cynical scepticism of the eighteenth century. By compelling the thoughtful to reckon with Christianity, the lonely thinker in Durham Castle, who stood outside the evangelical movement, nevertheless prepared the way for it. These three typical utterances, and more might be added if space permitted, point out how transition times were understood by Christian thinkers. A similar service was rendered by the *autor ad Hebræos*, whose lofty idealism recalled many a straggler to the things that could not be shaken. Professor Galloway remarks, in his recent book on *Religion and Modern Thought*, that the current unsettlement which questions the old order, does not touch Christianity as a spiritual and vital religion but concerns certain ways in which it has been expressed and defined in doctrines. It is also a hopeful sign that "men are not disposed to explain away religious experience but rather to try to understand it" (p. 36f.).

One of the permanent values of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the plea for liberty of thought, that the church might express her convictions in keeping with the knowledge of the age. Since he was interested in construction there is nothing of the polemical in his writing. Just as the early church appropriated ideas to express her spiritual faith in terms of doctrine, as indeed has been done in every generation with fruitful results, so should this privilege and duty be conceded to the modern church. This unknown thinker of the first century was a student of literature and of human nature, influenced by the Platonic ideas of shadow and substance, and more of a humanist than a philosopher. His purpose was to point out that Christianity is the Absolute and Ultimate Religion, because it is the religion of attainment.

What led him to this conclusion? It was his conviction of the supreme worth of Jesus Christ. Whatever else was doubtful he was sure

of Jesus. In this certainty he was prepared for new experiments and for progressive combinations of thought that would enhance the sublime sufficiency of our Redeemer and Lord. Indeed, everything turns on Jesus, and he is aware that we could be assured of the versatility of Christianity only as we reckon with the full Personality of Christ. This has nothing to do with the Logos dogma of speculative abstraction, which was a later issue faced by the Fourth Gospel. He therefore hinges his entire argument on Jesus, and constantly urges his readers to fix their minds on him. In what moving terms of fragrant experience he refers to Jesus as High Priest (7. 26), Mediator (8. 6), Propitiation (2. 17), Surety of a better covenant (7. 22), Author and Perfecter of Faith (12. 2), Fore-runner (6. 20), the great Shepherd of the sheep (13. 20), the Ever-living Intercessor (7. 25). Scott's two chapters on "The High Priesthood of Christ" and "The Nature of Christ" show fine discernment.

The discussion of faith is one of the most impressive in all the New Testament. We miss the evangelical fervor of Paul and the mystical fellowship of John, but for our author's purpose nothing could be better. Faith is colored by the atmosphere of hope. Since his aim was to provide new motives, and to quicken the languid and indolent, exposed to the temptations of compromise and indifference, he takes high ground in referring to faith as "an active power which enables us to live victoriously in the strength of the unseen," as did the worthies of a former day, according to the magnificent eleventh chapter. Read Professor Scott's chapter on "Faith."

To be sure, there is much theology in this writing, but it is free from dogmatic assertiveness and hospitable to new light. At times it is difficult to follow the argument because of the allegorical interpretation. This is only to acknowledge that the author used the thought terms of his own day, as Professor Scott points out in the chapters on "Theological Affinities" and "The Religious Background." The same might be said of Paul's Rabbinic exegesis, and of Catholic and Protestant scholasticism. It could not be otherwise. The task of modern theology therefore is to distinguish between the kernel and the husk, as our leaders are increasingly acknowledging.

Another important question that engaged his attention is that of worship, which is the primary purpose of religion. The Christian life is a continual act of worship through the Great High Priest who gives us access to God. The doctrine of the two ages—the present and the future—which is reflected in apocalyptic thought, is displaced by the more convincing teaching of the two worlds—the material and the spiritual. "Christianity is conceived as the means whereby we can identify ourselves even now with the higher world, and so build ourselves on a true and lasting foundation" (p. 119). This thought is well brought out in the chapter on "The Two Ages of the Two Worlds." Refresh your memory by turning to the READING COURSE for January devoted to *Redemption from this World* by Professor Hogg. It is worth recalling with regard to the emphasis on worship that "this Epistle more perhaps than any other New Testament writing has moulded the lan-

guage of our prayers and hymns." It is significant that the most intellectual of the New Testament writers is also intensely devotional.

The Epistle was addressed to "men of education who were seeking in Christianity an answer to their intellectual doubts and problems." They were doubtless in the minority, but they represented an influence in excess of their numbers. Here then was a conscientious attempt to meet their perplexities. The finished style, balanced argument, and cultured tone were combined with ethical earnestness and spiritual insight. Instead of "intellectual frugality" there was the virility of a vigorous mind. It was no small service that this writer thus saved for Christianity many leaders of thought. They could not be neglected in that first century any more than now. Doctor Hutton rightly observes that Christian preachers and teachers ought to feel that they are failing in these days if they do not convince certain outstanding figures, who confess that life without some safeguard and relief Godward will grow sour, leading to bitterness. (Cf. *That the Ministry be not Blamed*, p. 191.) Bishop Gore declared that a serious danger threatens the church when her ministers "take refuge in social and practical interests from the difficulties of thought." Dr. Francis George Peabody stated with equal insistence, "If the Christian Church is to justify its leadership in the modern world, this must be, not merely through its reformatory spirit or philanthropic zeal, but through its clear and convincing thinking on the great themes of God and man" (*The Yale Review*, January, 1923, p. 331). Here, then, is the challenge to all preachers. Let us accept it with the courage of consecration and prove ourselves worthy stewards of the manifold grace of God.

Side Reading

Those interested in the study of this Epistle should read Nairne's commentary in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*, a magnificent volume with a long introduction and lucid notes. Peake in *The New Century Bible* is also good. The essay in *The Pilgrim* by T. R. Glover is in the finest style.

Religion and Modern Thought. By George Galloway (Scribners, $2.50). Among the addresses which touch on our subject, your attention is directed to the chapters on "Theology, Its Task and Its Present Problems," "Some Aspects of the Present Religious Outlook," "Religious Experience and Theological Development," "Controversy—Its Meaning and Value," "The Question of the Essence of Christianity." In fact this book by a fertile thinker has not a dull page between its covers and will repay the most careful study.

For further information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the Methodist Review, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Oscar L. Joseph.

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WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Professor ALBERT C. KNUDSON, Ph.D., D.D., occupies the chair of Systematic Theology in the Boston University School of Theology and is author of *Beacon Lights of Prophecy*, *The Religious Teaching of the Old Testament*, and other works. His article in this issue was read before the Theological Society, which met at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, April 3, 1923.

The Rev. WILLIAM C. S. PELLOWE, A.M., pastor of about one thousand members in the Preston Methodist Church, Detroit, Mich., was private, corporal, lieutenant, and chaplain in the World War. Professor WILLIAM W. SWEET, Ph.D., heads the department of History in DePauw University, Greencastle, Pa. ELBERT ROBB ZARING, D.D., edits the Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago, Ill.

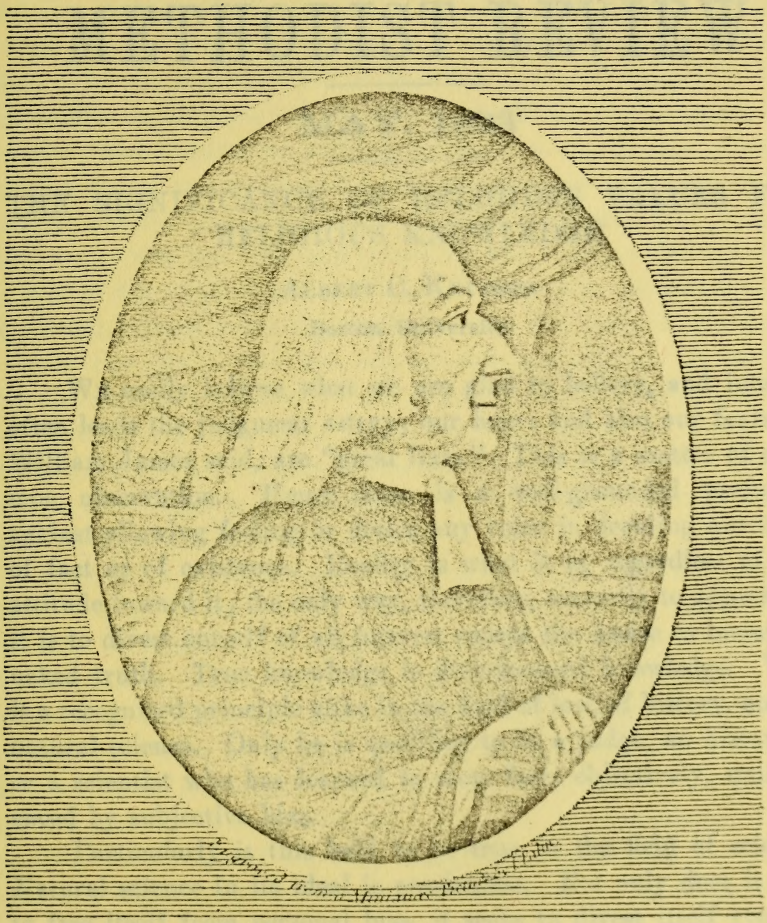
Bishop ADNA W. LEONARD, D.D., superintends the San Francisco Area of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Professor EMIL CARL WILM, Ph.D., teaches philosophy in Boston University. Mr. MARION HILLER DUNSMORE is connected with the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal. BERTRAND M. TIPPLE, D.D., head of the Methodist Collegio on Monte Mario, Rome, Italy, is an outstanding leader of Protestant work in Europe.

The Baptist LAYMAN, a college professor, concludes in this number his thoughtful study of Religion and Secular Thinking, begun in our March-April issue.

The Rev. A. L. KOENEKE, pastor of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church (German), Pekin, Ill., pays a poetic tribute to Bishop Quayle.

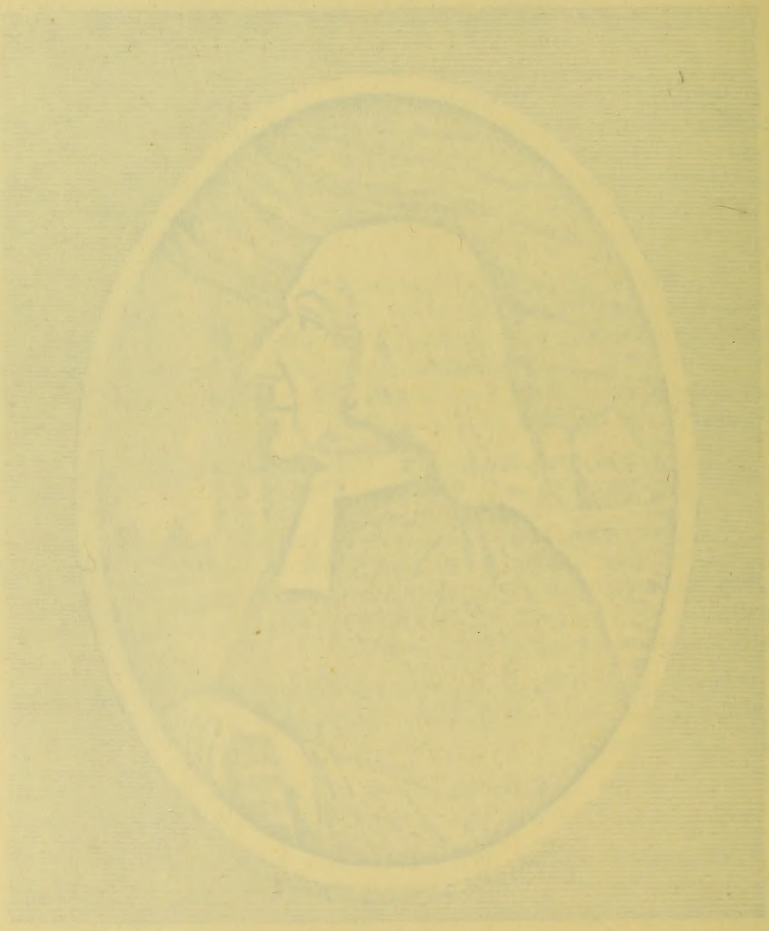
WILLIAM W. DAVIES, D.D., who was a professor in Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, furnished the Biblical Research material to the METHODIST REVIEW for many years. The present contribution was found among his papers after his decease. The Rev. E. D. BEYNON is a remarkably able religious worker among foreign-speaking peoples in Detroit, Mich.



REVᴰ. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.

Departed this Life March 2ᵈ 1791. Aged 88.

GOD IS LOVE



METHODIST REVIEW

MAY, 1923

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS VALUES FOR RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

ALBERT C. KNUDSON

Boston University

WE easily believe what we are glad to believe, and interest often leads the judgment astray; our hopes and also our fears, as William James said, are "great liars." This is a matter of common observation. Hence there is a well-grounded prejudice against allowing feeling or desire any voice in deciding questions of fact or of existence. Reality is what it is, regardless of our attitude toward it; the only way, therefore, correctly to apprehend it is to divest oneself of all interest except the desire to know the naked truth. True knowledge is disinterested knowledge. This is a recognized principle alike in the field of law, of history, and of natural science. Only he is qualified to be a judge, an historian, or a scientist who has learned to view facts objectively, uninfluenced by subjective bias.

Particularly is this held to be true in the field of science. Natural science in its ideal is passionless. Not only does it aim to free itself from personal bias, it seeks to divest itself even of *human* interest. It sees in nature no purpose and no worth. All is colorless existence. There is, of course, change, and change according to law, but it is purposeless change. There are no gradations of worth. Psychical fact has in and of itself no more value than physical fact. Both are parts of a vast mechanical system driven from behind, and have equal standing in it. One does not necessarily serve the other. Man is not the end of creation. There is no end or goal to the knowable universe. Teleology has no place

in the field of pure knowledge. Pure knowledge recognizes only facts and their causal relations. It is phenomeno-centric or cosmo-centric. It begins with the world, not with man. The anthropo-centric standpoint of faith belongs to the uncritical and unscientific past. For the modern mind it has been rendered impossible by the double degradation which man has suffered at the hands of science. The Copernican astronomy deprived him of that central position in the universe which he had previously been supposed to occupy; and the Darwinian theory of evolution robbed him of that unique and absolute eminence which he had hitherto claimed for himself in the world of animate beings. Man from the standpoint of natural science must, consequently, take his place in the universe as one purposeless fact among countless others. To make him the central fact of existence and to subordinate the rest of the world to his interests is an unwarranted act of presumption on our part, and a distortion of reality. The real world, the world of pure knowledge, is a dehumanized world, a world without purpose and without distinctions of value.

Such is the epistemological ideal under which natural science has to a large extent worked. That it should awaken opposition not only in practical life but also among professional thinkers, was inevitable. The response to it is found in the philosophy of value. It is to Kant that this philosophy in its modern and independent form owes its origin. He distinguished sharply between the scientific or theoretical reason, with its world of colorless facts, and the practical reason, with its realm of ends and values. To the latter he attributed not only complete independence, but also a position of primacy as over against the former. The moral nature, for instance, through its postulates of God, freedom, and immortality, gives us a deeper and truer understanding of reality than does the perceptive and logical faculty. The scientific and naturalistic view of the world is, therefore, inadequate; it needs to be supplemented by insights drawn from the higher moral and religious values. Value itself is not foreign to reality. This Kantian line of thought was developed further by Lotze. "I seek," he said, "in that which *should be* the ground of that which *is*." "The true beginning of metaphysics lies in ethics." The full

implications of this position he did not, it is true, work out, but we owe to him many stimulating suggestions concerning the nature and significance of value not only from the metaphysical but also from the psychological and epistemological points of view. These suggestions contributed more or less directly to later developments in the philosophy of value, such as those represented by pragmatism and by the Freiburg School in Germany.

In the meantime economists began to interest themselves in the psychological aspects of economic value; and psychologists in turn, stimulated by this encroachment upon their territory and also by the growing philosophical, theological, and biological interest in the subject of value, began to devote themselves to a detailed study of the process of valuation in all its forms. Thus there has arisen a psychology of value, and also a general theory of value as distinguished from a purely philosophical or metaphysical treatment of the subject. The literature in this field is already extensive and is growing rapidly. The best known works are those by Meinong[1] and Ehrenfels[2] in Austria and by Urban[3] in this country.

Out of these psychological and philosophical discussions of value there have emerged several conclusions, more or less widely held, that have a bearing on our theme and that may be briefly summarized.

1. It is generally agreed that values are relative to personality, and that they have their root in the affective-volitional nature. It is feeling and desire that give rise to value. Which of the two is the more fundamental in the valuation process is a question that has been much debated. Meinong was probably right in deciding in favor of feeling. But feeling and desire are so intimately related to each other that one to some extent implies the other. There is no clear line of demarcation between affection and conation. One tends to pass over into the other, and both are involved in the definition of value. We may then say with Schiller that "value is a personal attitude, of welcome or the reverse, to-

[1] *Psychologisch-Ethische Untersuchungen Zur Werth-Theorie*, and *Ueber Annahmen*.
[2] *Systema der Werttheorie*.
[3] *Valuation: Its Nature and Laws*.

ward an object of interest,"[4] or with Höffding that "whatever conduces to satisfaction or supplies a need has worth, or is a good."[5]

2. While values are relative to personal interest and in a sense constituted by it, they are not purely subjective. They imply the existence, either actual or hypothetical, of the object. On this point also Meinong was right. "For feelings of value," as he said, "it is essential that they be feelings of existence." Or, as Sorley puts it, "the predication of value implies or assumes something existing which can be said to possess the value; the true bearer of value is an existing reality or something conceived as an existing reality. Were there no existence there would be no value; value out of relation to existence has no meaning."[6] The theory of value is, therefore, not an abstract science like mathematics. It presupposes reality, and thus resembles the natural sciences. But it differs from the latter in that value judgments are not causal nor merely existential judgments. Existence does not necessarily imply value. Value is rather a plus, something added to bare existence. It is sometimes spoken of as a "tertiary quality." But this expression is misleading in a double respect. It suggests that value is more subjective than the "secondary" qualities and, consequently, still farther removed from reality. It also suggests that value, like other qualities, is a predicate inherent in the nature of the object, and so simply a "way of apprehending the object." This, however, is not the case. Value, if termed a quality, is a quality of an altogether unique kind. It does not reveal the existence of the object; it rather implies or asserts that the object ought to exist or is worth existing. This aspect of objective existence is one of which natural science does not take cognizance, and it may conceivably be simply a shadow of the mind's own throwing. But that it is something more is implicit in the value judgment itself. The value judgment as such contains an existential reference, and thus transcends the purely subjective standpoint.

3. Values are also objective in the sense that they are not entirely relative to the individual. They have in them a univer-

[4] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xii, p. 589.
[5] *The Problems of Philosophy*, p. 154.
[6] *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, pp. 108f.

sal and a normative element. There are immanent standards of value by which values are themselves evaluated. In accordance with these standards we distinguish not simply different degrees of value but also different kinds of value. The fundamental qualitative distinction between values is formulated in several different ways. We, for instance, distinguish between "instrumental" and "intrinsic" values, between "natural" and "ideal" values, and between "relative" and "absolute" values. These different distinctions are not synonymous with each other; each has its own special significance. But the basal idea underlying them is essentially the same. Over against the lower realm of means there is the higher realm of ends, values that stand in their own right and that in a sense may be said to be "eternal." These values manifest themselves in three or four main forms: the moral, the æsthetic, the intellectual, and the religious. Corresponding to these different forms of value there are ideals or norms, namely, goodness, beauty, truth, and God. These norms, or at least the first three of them, are, as it were, legislated into the very structure of the human mind. However they may have originated, they have for the individual an "a-priori" character. He does not make them, he finds them. They are for him autonomous validities. Beyond them he cannot go. They are objective values with laws of their own, to which he is under obligation to submit himself.

4. Ideal values are not only objective to the individual; they give us a deeper insight into reality than does the merely perceptive and logical intellect. This Kantian doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason, already referred to, has received fresh and to some extent original expression in the pragmatism of the James–Schiller type and in the transcendental philosophy of Windelband and Rickert, especially the latter. Both of these movements attempt a more complete subordination of the pure reason to the practical reason than Kant succeeded in bringing about. Kant left us with a fundamental dualism, and this dualism these two more recent movements seek to overcome. Pragmatism makes the registering intellect simply the servant of the will. Indeed, from its standpoint there is no merely "registering" intellect. All "facts" involve valuation, and the test of truth is to

be found, not in its correspondence with a supposed external reality, but in its utility, in its verification in life, in its contribution to man's chief good. The Freiburg School rejects the utilitarianism of pragmatism and also its empiricism, but it is none the less thoroughgoing in its ascription of primacy to the will. For this school logic as well as ethics is a science of value. Rickert regards all judgments as value judgments. For him there are no merely existential judgments. It is the "ought" of the judgment that alone lifts it into true objectivity. Ultimate reality, therefore, can be apprehended only by a process of valuation. This line of reasoning may seem too abstract to many; and to others pragmatism seems too relativistic. But the common ground underlying both types of thought is receiving increasing recognition. Value is not an arbitrary and unreal fact; it is itself a part of the real world, and the only key to ultimate reality.

This conclusion, drawn from the philosophy of value, and the three preceding principles, also borrowed from the same source, constitute the basis of the philosophy of religion. Indeed, it was in the field of theology that the philosophy of value in its post-Kantian form received one of its first and most significant applications. Albrecht Ritschl attempted a reconstruction or at least regrounding of Christian theology on the assumption that religion by its very nature moves entirely within the sphere of value judgments. It is, in fact, to him and his school that the currency of the term "value judgment" is largely due. Ritschl did not go so far as Schiller and Rickert, and reduce all "facts" to values or all "judgments" to value judgments. He recognized a valuational element in all knowledge, but distinguished between "concomitant" and "independent" value judgments. "The former," he said, "are operative and necessary in all theoretical cognition"; but they do not constitute its basis or essential nature. The latter, on the other hand, which alone are value judgments in the full sense of the term, stand in their own right and form the very structure of morality and religion. "Every cognition," says Ritschl, "of a religious sort is a direct judgment of value."[7]

[7] *Justification and Reconciliation*, iii, p. 398.

It is independent of natural science, and also, though in a different way, of ethics and esthetics. By its very nature, therefore, religion must find its justification in itself. The one sure ground of religious knowledge is that found in Jesus' saying that "if any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching whether it is of God, or whether I speak of myself."

The general theory of religious knowledge, as thus formulated by Ritschl, has been the subject of almost endless discussion. Out of this discussion we may gather three or four main points to which to attach our own positive conclusions.

1. It has been objected to Ritschl's theory that it is virtually a surrender to those twin foes of religion, positivism and illusionism. Value judgments, it is argued, are necessarily subjective; they stand opposed to existential judgments, and in so far as they are regarded as constituting the substance of religious faith, degrade the latter to the level of their own subjectivity. It was partly to correct this impression that Kaftan and Scheibe modified Ritschl's theory by making religious knowledge consist not of value judgments but of "theoretical judgments" or "postulates" based on value judgments. But the change was not necessary, nor is it an altogether happy one. It assumes that value judgments in themselves are wholly subjective, and that they differ in this respect from theoretical judgments. This, however, as we have seen, is not the case. Value judgments contain an objective reference just as truly as do scientific judgments. They are more variable than the latter, and in general less trustworthy, but that they mean to assert an objective fact can hardly be questioned. Religious value judgments are existential judgments. And this fact has an important bearing on the nature of religion. It reduces to nullity every attempt to save faith at the expense of the objects of faith, or to base religion on what has been termed "subjective theism." Positivism as well as materialism is the negation of religion.

2. The question has been raised as to whether religious values should be classed as "natural" or as "ideal." In the preceding discussion I have assumed the latter. But Kaftan argues at length in favor of the former. He distinguishes between the nat-

ural goods of life and its ethical ideal, and contends that religion has to do with the former rather than the latter. The common characteristic of religion, he says, is the quest after life, not the quest after perfect life. Religion, accordingly, is simply one of the different forms that the natural instinct of self-preservation takes. What gives rise to religion is man's failure to satisfy his quest after life *in* the world and *through* the world. Because of this failure he seeks the aid of supernatural powers. But in this theory it is evident that Kaftan fails to make adequate allowance for the distinction between the lower hedonistic view of life and the higher spiritual view represented by religion. The chief good in both may be "life," but it is life with a quite different connotation. No doubt religion in its more primitive forms is concerned to a large extent with material goods. But these material goods are not ultimates for the religious consciousness. They have a sacramental quality. They mediate between the human and the divine, and on this plane of mediation life has a distinct character of its own—a character that links it with the "ideal" rather than with what may properly be called the "natural." The "natural," it is true, forms the background of the religious as it does of the ethical and æsthetic, but it becomes itself religious only as it is lifted to a higher and ideal plane, the plane of the free spirit. And on this higher plane the standard of value is changed. The change is, of course, effected only gradually, and to the outsider it may seem as though no real change takes place. It may seem as though one natural good is substituted for another. For instance, R. B. Perry says that the relation of religion to the secular goods of life goes through three different stages, the first of which he calls the "auxiliary," the second the "disciplinary," and the third the "compensatory."[8] This view assumes that the original standard of value is maintained throughout the entire process. The satisfaction of the natural interests of life is regarded as the ultimate criterion by which the value of religion is judged. But this is not true to the religious consciousness itself. From the religious point of view it is the natural experiences of life that are "auxiliary" and "disciplinary," and not religion itself. Religion in its

[8] *American Journal of Theology*, 1915, pp. 1-16.

true nature is never a mere "compensation" for lost material goods, a kind of consolation prize that serves as a temporary balm to the loser's heart; it always has its own intrinsic worth. To be sure, it also has its value for the natural life of man, its social, political, economic, therapeutic value. But the "value of religion" is one thing, and "religious values" are something quite different. The latter stand in their own right, and belong to the ideal and normative side of human nature.

3. Religion as an ideal and normative value stands on the same plane as the ethical, æsthetic, and intellectual values; but it has its own distinctive character, and it is a question whether its relation to these other values is to be regarded as coordinate or superordinate. Is religion an independent good that stands alongside of the other ideal values? Or does it rather presuppose them and build upon them? If with Troeltsch we adopt the idea of a religious a priori, we incline to the former view. Religion from this standpoint is simply one of a number of mutually independent and immanent principles rooted in human reason. On the other hand, if with Höffding we define religion as faith in the conservation of values, we take the latter view. We think of religion not as having its own independent field of cultural or rational values alongside of science, morality, and art, but as something "secondary" and yet superior to them, manifesting itself in and through them. The ideals of the true, the good, and the beautiful are also ideals of religion. What religion does is simply to add to them faith in their conservation of perpetuity. But both this view and the preceding one fail to bring out clearly the most distinctive element in religion. Rudolf Otto in his justly famous work, entitled *Das Heilige,* has stressed the idea of the immediate awareness of the divine, a "numinous" experience, which he further characterizes as "mysterium tremendum et fascinosum." In this experience the religious a priori is implicit and also faith in the conservation of values, but over and above these more or less abstract principles there is the living sense of a personal relation to a supernatural personal being. It is here that the really unique element in religion is to be found. The conviction, consequently, which we call religious knowledge is not only grounded in the autonomous

validity of the religious a priori and in the general validity of our implicit faith in the ideal; it also has an immediate empirical basis.

4. A further and final word needs to be added on the nature and grounds of religious knowledge. By religious knowledge we mean, not the knowledge of religion, but the knowledge of God. Religious knowledge is simply another term for the assurance of faith. It has the advantage over the latter expression in that it puts religion epistemologically on the same general level as science. Both religion and science, as a matter of fact, are ultimately dependent on faith. But it is customary to speak of scientific knowledge, and if this be proper, it should also be permissible to speak of religious knowledge. It is knowledge, inner conviction of an objective truth, in one case as well as the other. But religious knowledge is differently grounded from scientific knowledge. The latter is based on observation and strict logical inference, and hence, relatively speaking, is objective and disinterested. Religious knowledge, on the other hand, is based on feeling and will. It is interested knowledge, a subjective process of valuation. Without this process there would be no religious experience. The experience of God is itself an act of valuation. Religious values, therefore, constitute the very essence of religious knowledge.

But while this is psychologically true, the question arises whether the rational or epistemological ground of religion must not be sought elsewhere. For subjective valuation is manifestly no unerring test of objective validity. As compared with observation and logical inference it is relatively untrustworthy. Hence the effort has been made to find a basis for religion in the theoretical reason; for instance, in the cosmological and teleological arguments. But knowledge thus gained is not religious knowledge in the strict sense of the term, and furthermore is itself of rather doubtful standing from the theoretical point of view. Others, consequently, try to find a rational basis for religion in its general utility, particularly in its ethical and social value. Chatterton-Hill, for instance, the Roman Catholic apologist, says, "It is according to their objective consequences for society that all religious doctrines must be judged." "It is time," he adds, "to

transfer the justification of Christianity from the unstable basis of individual aspirations and individual want, and to establish it on the sure basis of the sociological value of Christian doctrine." How sure this basis is may be gathered from the following statement: "Every religious system that survives is adapted to the necessities of the society in which it survives. Such a religious system is therefore true in the only sense in which truth can be proved—in the sense that it responds to the end in view of which it was evolved. Truth is necessarily a relative conception; and the truth of a religious system can be judged only with reference to a given environment. In this environment the system is true (or untrue) and its truth (or untruth) can be proved by the concrete results of its influence on social life. Christianity is true for the Western world; Islam, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, are true in their respective environments. Each responds to the needs of heterogeneous social aggregates."[9] Such a relativism as this would manifestly undermine religious truth altogether. But even a less relativistic pragmatism or "ophelism," as A. W. Benn terms it, can furnish no real basis for religious faith. Faith cannot be sustained by merely external props. No doubt, religion has its social utility, but this is one of the fruits of religion and not religion itself. People in this day need to be reminded that the function of the social idea in religion is regulative, not constitutive. This is also true of logic. Logic and social need do not create religion, nor do they justify it; their task is simply to guide its development. Religion must find its justification in itself, in its own intrinsic worth, and in its own conviction of its objective truth.

As over against the arguments of the rationalistic unbeliever we may direct attention to such considerations as the following: First, science and indeed objective cognition in general rests ultimately on faith. Solipsism can be transcended only by faith. The intelligibility of the world and our ability to understand it are simply matters of faith, assumptions growing out of our cognitive interest. Interest and valuation thus lie at the basis of science as well as religion. Secondly, the intellect can attain a

[9] *The Sociological Value of Christianity*, pp. xii, xiv, and 20.

comprehensive and satisfactory world view only by adopting the theistic or personalistic standpoint. The various arguments for the divine existence have their value in this connection. In particular it may here be noted that the objectivity of values points to a personal Being as their ultimate seat. Thirdly, religion as well as the theoretical reason is structural in human nature. It is in a sense an a-priori principle, standing in its own right. It does not need to borrow its validity from other sources. Life is deeper than logic, and in its more fundamental needs reveals to us the ultimate nature of things. There is in men, as Lotze says, an unshakable "belief, that in its feeling for the values of things and their relations, our reason possesses as genuine a revelation as, in the principles of logical investigation, it has an indispensable instrument of experience."[10] But considerations such as these have little influence apart from religious experience itself. It is characteristic of religious knowledge that it is justified only of its own children.

[10] *Microcosmus*, i, p. 245.

JOHN WESLEY'S USE OF THE BIBLE

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John Wesley, the foremost leader in the religious revival of the eighteenth century and the founder of Methodism, made the most strenuous claims that the truths he believed and the methods he employed were founded on Scripture or were in the spirit of Scripture. He was most insistent in claiming that he was, to use his own term, "a Scriptural Christian." "I wish to be," he said, "in every point, Great and Small, a Scriptural, Rational Christian."

For the Oxford club, of which Wesley was a member and the members of which earned the sobriquet "Methodists," Wesley claimed that they were Bible Christians. In his sermon on "God's Vineyard" he states in the first paragraph of the first division:

> "From the very beginning, from the time that four young men united together, each of them was *homo unius libri*, 'a man of one book.' God taught them all, to make his 'word a lantern unto their feet, and a light in all their paths.' They had one, and only one, rule of judgment with regard to all their tempers, words, and actions; namely, the oracles of God. They were one and all determined to be Bible Christians. They were continually reproached for this very thing: some terming them in derision, Bible bigots: others, Bible moths; feeding, they said, upon the Bible, as moths do upon cloth."[1]

In the midst of his busy life, when controversy was thick upon him and he had to defend his teachings by writing tracts and articles for the press, Wesley writes to a critic, "If you have observed any thing in any of the tracts I have published, which you think is not agreeable to Scripture and reason, you will oblige me by pointing it out."[2]

Also in the Preface to the volume of his sermons, the First Series of which, fifty-three in number, became the Standard Doctrines of the Methodist Connexion, alongside of Wesley's Notes

[1] Works ii, 388-96.
[2] Works, iv, 106 Letter to Mr. Richard Tompson.

on the New Testament, Wesley makes a most eloquent plea that what is found in the sermons has been derived from a study of the Bible.

"To candid, reasonable men, I am not afraid to lay open what have been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought, I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God, and returning to God: just hovering over the great gulf; till, a few moments hence, I am no more seen; I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing—the way to heaven: how to land safe on that happy shore. God himself has condescended to teach the way; for this very end He came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book. O give me that book! At any price, give me the book of God! I have it here: here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be *homo unius libri!* Here then I am, far from the busy way of men. I sit down alone: only God is here. In His presence I open, I read his book; for this end, to find the way to heaven. Is there a doubt concerning the meaning of what I read? Does anything appear dark or intricate? I lift up my heart to the Father of Lights: 'Lord, is it not Thy word, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God"?' Thou 'givest liberally, and upbraidest not.' Thou hast said, 'If any be willing to do Thy will, he shall know.' I am willing to do, let me know, Thy will. I then search after and compare parallel passages of Scripture, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which my mind is capable. If any doubt remains, I consult those who are experienced in the things of God; and then the writings, whereby, being dead, they yet speak. And what I thus learn, that I teach."[3]

In the treatment of our study we propose the following divisions of the subject-matter: 1. Formative influences on Wesley's use of the Bible; 2. Wesley's method of interpretation; 3. Purposes for which Wesley used the Scriptures; and finally an evaluation of Wesley's use of the Bible.

I. Formative Influences on Wesley's Use of the Bible

1. *Parental Training.* John Wesley was born into a home where the Bible was not only the moral guide for life, but also the "primer" out of which the little Wesleys learned the alphabet and to read. His mother, Susanna Wesley, writing to John when he was a grown man, describes for him her method of procedure when the child has reached the age for him or her to commence

[3] Preface, section 5, First Series, Sermons.

reading. Taking the child into a room with her, she opened the Bible at the first chapter of Genesis and taught him the letters as they came in sequence in the verses, then day after day she had him read the verses, taking in more verses as the child progressed.[4] Thus the child's very earliest impressions of literature were bound up with the Bible. There was also family prayers with its reading and meditation on the Scriptures. There was also the custom of which the mother writes of her taking each child once a week for an hour apart and holding secret council regarding the Way of life. All this was in addition to the regular church services in the parish church, which the children attended regularly, as became the offspring of the rector. Of Wesley's mother it is recorded:

> "She was the daughter of Dr. Annesley, himself an ejected divine, and a man of ripe learning and good family. The daughter of such a father had a natural bias for scholarship; for she knew Greek, Latin, French, while yet in her teens, was saturated with theology, reasoned herself into Socinianism—and out of it—and, generally, had a taste for abstruse knowledge, which in these soft-fibered modern days is almost unintelligible. She was reading the Early Fathers and wrestling with metaphysical subtleties when a girl of to-day would be playing tennis or practicing sonatas."[5]

Thus it was that when John at the age of eleven left home to become a boarder student in the famous Charterhouse School, his mind was already, under the influence of such a home and mother, saturated with Bible teaching and Scripture passages.[6]

2. *Oxford Training.* Wesley took his Bachelor's degree in 1724 and was elected Fellow of Lincoln in 1725. A year later he was appointed lecturer in Greek and Moderator of the Classics. He took his Master's Degree in 1727. "And Oxford put upon John Wesley its ineffaceable mark. He was a university man, with the merits and the faults of the type, to the day of his death. He had mental faculties that worked with the exactitude of a machine. He excelled in logic, and was apt to resolve everything —even his own religious experience—into the terms of logic. He

[4] *Journal*, Vol. 3, p. 38.
[5] "*Wesley and his Century*," Fitchett, p. 15.
[6] Works vii, 325–6.

had a certain, confident primness of manner, shone in argument and delighted in it."[7]

Concerning the studies he pursued at Oxford, Wesley does not say anything very definite so far as I have been able to discover in his writings. He nowhere records the names of his professors or tutors, nor describes the lectures which he attended. This was of course before his diary-making began and perhaps accounts for it. One of the professors lecturing at Oxford in Wesley's day was Lowther, who wrote a commentary on Isaiah, but Wesley never refers to him nor hints that he owed much to him for insight into the Scriptures.

But in his *Address to the Clergy,* written in 1756, in which he seeks to stir the clergy of all churches to more efficient labors, Wesley describes what in his opinion should be the academic training a minister should receive for his profession, and as we follow him we clearly see Wesley depicting for us what his own training had been. Speaking of the "competent share of knowledge" which a minister should have, he says, after stating he should have knowledge of the high trust of his office:

"Secondly, no less necessary is a knowledge of the Scriptures, which teach us how to teach others; yea, a knowledge of all the Scriptures; seeing Scripture interprets Scripture; one part fixing the sense of another. So that, whether it be true or not, that every good textuary is a good divine, it is certain that none can be a good divine who is not a good textuary. None else can be mighty in the Scriptures; able both to instruct and to stop the mouth of gainsayers.

"In order to do this accurately, ought he not to know the literal meaning of every word, verse, and chapter; without which there can be no firm foundation on which the spiritual meaning can be built? Should he not likewise be able to deduce the proper corollaries, speculative and practical, from each text; to solve the difficulties which arise, and answer objections which are or may be raised against it; and to make a suitable application of all to the consciences of his hearers?

"Thirdly. Can he do this, in the most effectual manner, without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this, will he not infrequently be at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under greater difficulties, with respect to controverted scriptures. . . .

"Fourthly. Is not a knowledge of profane history, likewise of ancient customs, of chronology and geography, though not absolutely necessary

[7] Fitchett, 47.

yet highly expedient, for him that would thoroughly understand the Scriptures? . . .

"Fifthly. Some knowledge of the sciences also, is to say the least, equally expedient. . . . Some acquaintance with what has been termed the second part of logic (metaphysics) . . . at least the general grounds of natural philosophy? Is not this a great help to the accurate understanding of several passages of Scripture?

"Sixthly. Can any who spend *several years in those seats of learning*, be excused if they do not add to that of languages and sciences, the knowledge of the Fathers? the most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being both nearest the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by which all Scripture was given. It will be easily perceived, I speak chiefly of those who wrote before the Council of Nice. But who would not likewise desire to have some acquaintance with those that followed them? with St. Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Austin; and above all, the man of a broken heart, Ephraem Syrus?"[8]

From the above extract it will be seen what his Oxford training did for Wesley—it gave him a wide acquaintance with every department of thought which would contribute to an understanding of the Bible; but it was of the Bible as a piece of literature, and thus Wesley's training led him to regard the Bible as a source of proof-texts to be used to support formulas of doctrine. And even when later he learned to look on the Bible as the source book of Christian experience he did not in any way break from that training, which, regarding the Bible as static literature instead of a progressive movement of human thought directed by God, looked for meaning in Greek and Hebrew roots rather than in the life of the people behind the literature.

However out-of-date such method of study of the Bible may appear to us moderns with our ideas of growth and with our historical, sociological, and psychological approach, there is this much to be said for Wesley's Oxford training, it made him a careful, painstaking student of the Word, a scholar, a leader of men who was not easily caught by fanaticism and who spurned all superficial interpretations.

3. *Anglican heritage.* Wesley was an ardent lover of the Church of England and it was with sorrow that he in any way departed from her fold, and when toward the close of his career

[8] Works vi, 217–31.

he drew up the Articles of Religion for the American Methodists, he simply took the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church and abbreviated them. One of those Articles[9] contained a statement that "the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary for salvation," and this Wesley as a good Protestant believed with all his heart. Though the things which he thought the Scriptures contained, changed for him after that memorable evening in Aldersgate Street, when he experienced that "God for Christ's sake did forgive my sin," yet this in no wise meant any revolutionary change in devotion to the Bible, for Wesley for years as a devout son of the Church believed that in the Bible were found all things necessary for salvation.

From the same church Wesley inherited the position which set the authority of the Bible over against the authority of the Roman Church. It was this position which had betrayed the second generation of Protestants to depart from Luther's original freedom from any kind of authority. The exigencies of debate and struggle made some such authority necessary, but as the years went on it meant the development of a Protestant scholasticism, which went to the Bible for theology rather than a way of conduct. This meant a decided loss for Christian experience.

4. *Moravian influences.* In the Moravians Wesley found a people who were endeavoring to attain unto the New Testament standards of religious piety and inward experience. As he conversed with them in America, at the settlement in Germany, and with those he met in London, he saw that they found something in the Scriptures which he did not. Thus he states:

> "I met Peter Bohler again who amazed me more and more by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith—holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next *morning I began the Greek Testament* again, resolving to abide by the 'law and the testimony' and being confident that God would thereby show me whether this doctrine were of God or not,[10] "for all the Scripture relating to this I had been long since taught to construe away."[11]

Thus from the Moravians, Wesley learned to make the New Testament not simply the standard for external conduct, or for

[9] Article vi.
[10] Journal, Vol. I., 447. [11] Ibid. 441.

formulæ of theology, but as the standard for an experimental religion, a religion of an inner life and principle.

Another extract showing just what this Moravian influence meant upon his biblical interpretation is seen in the following:

"But I could not comprehend when he spoke of an instantaneous work. I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment: how a man could at once be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. *I searched the Scriptures again touching* this very thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles but to my utter astonishment found scarce any instances there of other than instantaneous conversions; scarce any so slow as that of Saint Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the New Birth. . . . I had but one retreat left; namely, 'Thus I grant God wrought in the first ages of Christianity; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe he works in the same manner now? But on Sunday the 23rd, I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses, who testified God had thus wrought in themselves giving them in a moment such a faith."[12]

II. Wesley's Method of Interpretation

1. *His View of Inspiration.* In a sermon published in the Arminian Magazine, 1785, on "Charity," Wesley began the sermon by saying, "We know, all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is therefore true and right concerning all things. But we know, likewise, that there are some Scriptures which more immediately commend themselves to every man's conscience." Again, in beginning his sermon on "Hell" he states, "Every truth which is revealed in the oracles of God, is undoubtedly of great importance. Yet it may be allowed that some of those which are revealed therein, are of greater importance than others."[13] From these two sentences we would gather that Wesley, though he held a high estimate of inspiration of the Word, did not believe in any dead level of inspiration, that is that all Scripture was of equal value. Evidently he believed in degrees of inspiration, a very important distinction when it comes to quoting the Bible as an authority.

But Wesley *knew nothing of any one special theory of in-*

[12] *Journal* vol I. p. 454.
[13] *Sermons* vol ii, LXXVII

spiration. He nowhere makes a plea for verbal inspiration of the Word. And he committed his church to no special theory. In the *Fifty-Three Sermons,* which he made a part of the Standard Doctrines of Methodism as already referred to, there is not a single sermon devoted to describing what the Bible is, its inspiration, and how to interpret it. In the second volume of his sermons, according to the American Complete and Standard Edition, there is a sermon entitled "On Corrupting the Word of God" (CXXXIII), but this in no way deals with the problem of inspiration but with those who twist the meaning of Scripture to suit their fanciful errors.

What Wesley did was to accept the Bible as the one source of Divine knowledge without raising questions as to method of inspiration. The debating ground with him was rather in the field of interpretation. The question with him was not, "Was this word put automatically into the writer's mouth?" but given the word as it has come down to us, "What does it mean when interpreted by the best rules of interpretation?" (Cf. *The Character of a Methodist."*)

What we have said about the series of sermons is also true of Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament,* a volume which he placed alongside of his *Fifty-Three Sermons* as containing the standard doctrines of Methodism. In this too he nowhere commits his followers to any special theory of inspiration. It was written, of course, "before the Higher Criticism was born, and written at high pressure, during a brief interval when Wesley was resting on account of sickness." But it is a wholesome piece of expository literature, permeated with reverence for the Scriptures and stating in simple terms the advice of the Book on the means of nourishing the inner life and of applying that life to everyday tasks.

2. *Rules of Interpretation.* After bringing to the text the wide range of knowledge gained by the preparation which Wesley outlined as given above in the section on Oxford Training, the following rules seemed to be guiding ones for Wesley:

(a) The literal, plain meaning of the words should be accepted unless such a meaning should be contrary to plain, common sense. Wesley says, "It is a stated rule in interpreting Scripture,

never to depart from the plain literal sense, unless it implies an absurdity."[14]

(b) The context of the passage dealt with at any one time should be studied as a setting. "Any passage is easily perverted by being recited singly, without any of the preceding or following verses. By this means it may often seem to have one sense, when it will be plain, by observing what goes before and what follows after, that it really has the direct contrary."[15]

(c) Comparing passage with passage of like import. In his Preface to the *Fifty-Three Sermons* he states, "I then search after and compare parallel passages of Scripture."[16] "Seeing Scripture interprets Scripture, one part fixing the sense of another."[17]

(d) The full powers of reason should be employed and nothing left to fanatical exegesis which disclaims the use of such reason. Winchester in his *Life of John Wesley* says, "As a thinker Wesley was the child of his age, . . . confident in sense and reason, . . . distrustful of anything that could not be defended by reason, . . . ready to abandon any teaching that could not safely make such appeal" (pp. 276–7). Wesley himself wrote in his *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion:*

> "There are many it must be confessed that utterly decry the use of reason, thus understood, in religion; nay, that condemn all reasoning concerning the things of God, as utterly destructive of true religion. But we no wise agree with this. We find no authority for it in holy writ. So far from it, that we find there both our Lord and His Apostles continually reasoning with their opposers. Neither do we know, in all the productions of ancient and modern times, such a chain of reasoning or argumentation, so close, so solid, so regularly connected, as the Epistle to the Hebrews. And the strongest reasoner whom we have ever observed (excepting only Jesus of Nazareth) was that of Paul of Tarsus."[18]

(e) All interpretation must bear *the test of Christian experience.* Presented with an interpretation, Wesley next examined the conduct, the professions, the possibilities of living men to see if the interpretation was true to life. For Wesley, though

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[14] *Sermons* vol ii, p. 156.
[15] "Corrupting the Word of God" Ser CXXXII, Vol. ii.
[16] 2. Section 5.
[17] *Address to Clergy.*
[18] Works, Vol. v, 5–53.

strong on logic, always subordinated logic to life. When Wesley had been instructed by Peter Bohler concerning justification by faith and the assurance of forgiveness and had been led to see that the Scriptures would bear such interpretation, he still had the question, "Are there any whose Christian experience can support such interpretation?"

"When I met Peter Bohler again, he consented to put the dispute upon the issue which I desired, namely, Scripture and *experience*. I first consulted the Scripture. But when I set aside the glosses of men, and simply considered the words of God, comparing them together, endeavoring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, that experience would never agree with the literal interpretation of those scriptures. Nor could I therefore allow it to be true, till I found some living witnesses of it."[19]

Wesley did the same with the doctrine of Christian Perfection. On pages 167 and 133 we see Wesley testing using the experiences of his converts who professed the experience of "perfect love" to support his exegesis of the passages he has adduced in favor of the doctrine.[20] Says Wesley on page 89 of the same work, "If none received the Blessing we are mistaken in interpreting the Scripture."

(f) Holding of an open mind for better interpretations and disavowal of any infallibility. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Venn of Birmingham, written in the middle period of his career, he wrote, "I believe all the Bible, as far as I understand it, and am ready to be convinced. If I am a heretic, I became such by reading the Bible. All my notions I drew from thence; and with little help from men, unless in the single point of justification by faith. But I impose my notions upon none: I will be bold to say there is no man living farther from it. I make no opinion the term of union with any man: I think and let think."[21] At one time Wesley was accused by the Rev. Mr. Downes, rector of Saint Michael's, of claiming for the Methodists that they were "infallible interpreters of Scripture." To this Wesley replied, "We have over and

[19] *Journal*, Vol I, p. 471–2.
[20] *Christian Perfection*, pages *cit.*
[21] Works vii, 303–5.

over declared in print as well as in public preaching, 'We are no more to expect any living man to be infallible than to be omniscient.' "[22]

Thus it is that in Wesley's writings we see no rigid, closed-in system and many of his statements are at variance one with another, but this is explained not by lack of consistency in his thinking processes, but by this faculty of the open mind which Wesley was so insistent upon. One prominent illustration of his open-mindedness is that part of his career where he comes to see by the reading of Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church* that the Scriptures do not teach that Christ instituted a threefold order of ministry, but that the bishops and the presbyters were of the same order. Such a change in his thinking led the way for his act later on in ordaining Dr. Coke to be a General Superintendent for America, giving him the authority to ordain Francis Asbury, who became the first Methodist bishop of America.

III. Characteristic Usages Which Wesley Makes of the Scripture

1. One characteristic of Wesley's sermons is the marvelous manner in which Scripture is woven into the text of the discourse. Passage after passage is used with ease, skill and freedom in setting forth any given idea. Indeed, many paragraphs in his sermons are wholly composed of Scripture selections, connected by a few words of Wesley's own. Here are a couple of selections from his sermon on "Salvation by Faith."[23] Wesley is speaking of the salvation which comes by faith, and says (II. 3):

"First, from the guilt of all past sin: for, whereas all the world is guilty before God, insomuch that should He 'be extreme to mark what is done amiss, there is none that could abide by it'; and whereas, 'by the law is' only 'the knowledge of sin,' but no deliverance from it, so that 'by' fulfilling 'the deeds of the law no flesh can be justified in His sight'; now, 'the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, is manifested unto all that believe.' Now, 'they are justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ.' 'Him God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for (or by) the remission of the sins that are past.' Now hath Christ

[22] Works v, 428–37.

[23] *Fifty-Three Sermons* no. 1.

taken away 'the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.' He hath 'blotted out the handwriting that was against us, taking it out of the way, nailing it to His cross.' 'There is therefore no condemnation now to them which' believe 'in Christ Jesus.'"

In the above paragraph there are no less than twelve different quotations from Scripture, all woven together in an inimitably skillful manner, and which when preached to people to whom the Bible was a book of absolute authority, must have produced a deep impression.

Here is another paragraph from the same sermon, a paragraph of 350 words, and in which 153 words are from the Scriptures. It is from the third division of the sermon and Wesley is answering any objections which might be made to the preaching of salvation by faith.

"But does not preaching this faith lead men into pride? We answer, Accidentally it may: therefore ought every believer to be earnestly cautioned, in the words of the great Apostle, 'Because of unbelief,' the first branches 'were broken off; and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear. If God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest He spare thee not. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God! On them which fell, severity, but towards thee goodness, if thou continue in His goodness; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.' And while he continues therein, he will remember those words of Saint Paul, foreseeing and answering this very objection (Rom. 3. 27), 'Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.' If a man were justified by his works, he would have whereof to glory. But there is no glorying for him 'that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly' (Rom. 4. 5). To the same effect are the words both preceding and following the text (Eph. 2. 4, etc.), 'God, who is rich in mercy, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ (by grace ye are saved), that He might show the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness toward us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves.' Of yourselves cometh neither your faith nor your salvation: 'It is the gift of God'; the free, undeserved gift; the faith through which ye are saved, as well as the salvation which He of his own good pleasure, His mere favor, annexes thereto . . . leaveth us nothing whereof to glory."

2. A second characteristic use to which Wesley puts Scripture is that of using scriptural language to state his doctrines. He endeavored to find scriptural terms for all his doctrines. Thus on the atoning work of Jesus Christ, Wesley dwelt with constant

emphasis, but always in *the language of Scripture.* "Christ died for our offenses and rose again for our justification." "We have redemption in His blood, even the forgiveness of sins."

Concerning the doctrine of Christian Perfection, he answered an objection which had been made to its preaching in these words:

"The term you cannot object to; because it is scriptural. . . ."[24] He was accustomed to define the doctrine in the language of Scripture; it is simply "loving God with all the heart and soul and mind and strength." "To declare this a little more particularly: we understand by that *scriptural expression,* 'a perfect man,' one in whom God hath fulfilled his faithful word, 'From all your filthiness and from all your idols I will cleanse you: I will also save you from all your uncleannesses . . . one who walks in the light as He is in the light; in whom is no darkness at all, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son having cleansed him from all sin."[25] "If your idea includes any thing more or any thing else, it is not Scriptural; and then no wonder that a scripturally perfect Christian does not come up to it . . . not according to Scripture . . . keep the simple, Scriptural account continually in our eye."[26]

In the article entitled "The Character of a Methodist," Wesley wrote, "We never therefore deviate from the most usual way of speaking; unless when we express Scripture truths in Scripture words, which, we presume, no Christian will condemn."[27]

Wesley's superb description of faith is a good illustration of the point under discussion; it is a description which pleased "an intellect at once so philosophical and so critical as that of Coleridge," and yet it is thoroughly scriptural in its language:

"Faith is a power wrought by the Almighty in an immortal spirit inhabiting a house of clay, to see through that veil into the world of spirits, into things invisible and eternal. . . . It is the eye of the newborn soul, whereby every true believer 'seeth him who is invisible.' It is the ear of the soul, whereby the sinner 'hears the voice of the Son of God and lives'; the palate of the soul (if the expression may be allowed), whereby a believer 'tastes the good Word of God and the powers of the world to come'; the feeling of the soul whereby 'through the power of the Highest overshadowing him' he perceives the Presence of Him in whom he lives and moves and has his being, and feels the love of God shed abroad in his heart. It is the internal evidence of Christianity, a perpetual revelation, equally strong, new, through all the centuries which

[24] "Selections from Wesley," p. 145.
[25] *Christian Perfection,* p. 42.
[26] Op. cit. p. 78.
[27] Quoted in Welch's *Selections,* p. 216.

have elapsed since the Incarnation, and passing now, even as it has done from the beginning, directly from God into the believing soul. "It is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, if thou believest in the Lord Jesus Christ."[28]

3. Wesley made great use of the Scripture to combat the fanaticism which sometimes threatened to wreck the Methodist movement. Wesley appealed time and again to the Scripture as the criterion by which to judge the excessive professions and overheated claims of men who meant well, but who with less balance than Wesley made statements that went beyond the limits of common sense.

Wesley himself was much of a Mystic, but he joined it to reason and conduct and to those Mystics who would throw away reason Wesley said, "But we cannot agree with this. We find no authority for it in holy writ."[29]

(a) In the year 1789 he wrote a letter to Garrettson, one of the foremost pioneer Methodist preachers in America, in which he took the latter to task for being too free with the term "finding freedom to do this or that." Garrettson meant by it the possession of some kind of inner leading, but Wesley thought that this reliance on feeling could be abused, so he wrote, "If I have plain Scripture, or plain reason, for doing a thing, well. These are my rules, and my only rules. I regard not whether I had freedom or no. This is an unscriptural expression, and a very fallacious rule. I wish to be, in every point, great and small, a Scriptural, rational Christian."[30]

(b) The one doctrine of Wesley's which more than any other was liable to produce fanaticism was that of Christian Perfection, and there were indeed many who in their first enthusiasm professed that they were entirely free from sinning and indeed could not sin. Wesley at once appealed to the Bible for refutation of such extravagant claims. On page 123 of *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection,* the question is asked, "But have any a testimony from the Spirit that they shall never sin?" The answer is formulated thus by Wesley:

[28] Quoted by Fitchett, p. 427.
[29] *Selections*, p. 143.
[30] Works vii, 186.

"We know not what God may vouchsafe to some particular persons; but we do not find any general state described in Scripture from which a man cannot draw back to sin. If there were any state wherein this was impossible, it would be that of those who are sanctified, who are 'fathers in Christ, who rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, and in everything give thanks'; but it is not impossible for these to draw back. They who are sanctified yet may fall and perish: Heb. 10. 29. Even fathers in Christ need that warning: 'Love not the world,' 1 John 2. 15. They 'who rejoice, pray,' and 'give thanks without ceasing,' may, nevertheless, 'quench the Spirit.' 1 Thess. 5. 16. Nay, even they who are 'sealed unto the day of redemption,' may yet 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God.' Eph. 4. 30.

"Although, therefore, God may give such a witness to some particular persons, yet it is not to be expected by Christians in general; there *being no scripture whereon to ground such an expression.*"[21]

(c) Note too how Wesley dealt with the dangers of Antinomianism by appealing to the Word. He is preaching on the subject, "The Lord Our Righteousness," and is dealing with the question of in what sense this righteousness is imputed to the believer; he says:

"In the mean time, what we are afraid of is this: lest any should use the phrase, 'The righteousness of Christ,' . . . as a cover for his unrighteousness. We have known this done a thousand times. A man has been reproved, suppose, for drunkenness: 'Oh,' he said, 'I pretend to no righteousness of my own; Christ is my righteousness.' Another has been told, that 'the extortioner, the unjust, shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' he replied, with all assurance, 'I am unjust in myself, but I have a spotless righteousness in Christ.' And thus though a man be as far from the practice as from the tempers of a Christian; though he neither has the mind which was in Christ, nor in any respect walks as He walked; yet he has armour of proof against conviction, in what he calls 'the righteousness of Christ.'

"It is the seeing so many deplorable instances of this kind, which makes us sparing in the use of these expressions. And I cannot but call upon all of you who use them frequently, and beseech you in the name of God our Savior, whose you are, and whom you serve, earnestly to guard all that hear you against this accursed abuse of them. O warn them . . . against 'continuing in sin that grace may abound'! against making void that solemn decree of God, 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord,' by a vain imagination of being holy in Christ! O warn them that if they remain unrighteous, the righteousness of Christ will profit them nothing! Cry aloud (is there not a cause?) that for this very end the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us, that 'the righteousness of the law may be fulfilled in us'; and that we may 'live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world.'"[22]

[21] Of edition named in Bibliography. [22] Sermon XX.

(d) Another phase of fanaticism from which the movement was in danger was that of the Moravian "stillness," a beautiful, dreamy, but wholly impractical mysticism of German Quietism, as interpreted by Molther and Bohler. It was part of this "stillness" to totally refrain from reading the Scripture, from attending church, from taking the Sacraments, from using so much private prayer, from doing temporal good.[33]

Wesley by the use of his practical common sense and his appeal to the New Testament definitely broke with this nascent English Moravian Church, and the entire Fourth Part of his *Journal* is devoted to detailing the events which led to that break. Here we see Wesley explaining "to our brethren the true, Christian, scriptural stillness, by largely unfolding those solemn words, 'Be still, and know that I am God.'"

Concerning the assertion that there is but one commandment in the New Testament, viz: "to believe," that no other duty lies upon us, and that a believer is not obliged to do anything as commanded, Wesley wrote as follows, always appealing to the Scripture as the criterion which opposed this "stillness."

"How gross, palpable a contradiction is this to the whole tenor of the New Testament! every part of which is full of commandments, from Saint Matthew to the Revelation! But it is enough to observe: (1) That this bold affirmation is shamelessly contrary to our Lord's own words, 'Whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.' For nothing can be more evident than that He here speaks of more than one, of several commandments, which every soul, believer or not, is obliged to keep as commanded. (2) That this whole scheme is overturned from top to bottom by that other sentence of our Lord, 'When ye have done all that is commanded of you, say, we have done no more than it was our duty to do.' (3) That although to do what God commands is the believer's privilege, that does not affect the question. He does it nevertheless as his bounden duty, and as a command of God. (4) That this is the surest evidence of his believing according to our Lord's own words, 'If ye love me (which cannot be unless ye believe), keep my commandments.' (5) That to desire to do what God commands, but not as a command, is to affect, not freedom, but independency. Such independency as Saint Paul had not; for though the Son had made him free, yet he was not without law to God, but under the law to Christ: such as the holy angels have not: for they fulfill his commandments, and hearken to the voice of his words: yea, such as Christ

[33] *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 329.

Himself had not, for, 'as the Father' had given Him 'commandment' so He 'spake.'"[34]

With other such appeals to the Bible Wesley resolutely cut Methodism adrift from "Stillness" and when in 1744 he published the fourth part of his *Journal,* the part relating to this break, he prefaced it with an Address to the Moravian Church, in which he stated his willingness that everything done "be tried by the Word of God."

4. We will conclude this part of the paper by noting that other characteristic usage of Wesley's; namely, using the Scriptures as a kind of magic lottery from which to draw by instructions about conduct. Wesley when in doubt as to what course to take often took the Bible in his hand, offered a prayer for it to open at the right place, then allowed it to fall open and took the passage upon which his eye first fell as a message from God informing him what to do. An interesting chapter might be written on this matter alone, for it is interesting to find this man who makes so much boasting of being a "rational Christian," and warning others against "freedom," using a method to find the will of God in which there was such a large element of chance. Space permits us to give only a couple of instances:

Being in doubt concerning the new experience, Wesley, "Begging of God to direct me, I opened my Testament on 1 Cor. 3. 1, following where Saint Paul speaks of those whom he terms 'babes in Christ,' who were 'not able to eat strong meat,' nay, were in a sense 'carnal,' to whom nevertheless he says, 'Ye are God's building, ye are the temple of God.' Surely then, these men had some degree of faith, though it is plain their faith was but weak." This chance opening was strengthening to his faith, for Wesley writes, "I was much comforted."[35]

"Thur 21.. I had a long conference with those whom I esteem very highly in love. But I could not yet understand them on one point—Christian openness and plainness of speech. They pleaded for such a reservedness and closeness of conversation, as I could in no wise reconcile with Paul's direction, 'By manifestation of the truth' to commend 'ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.' Yet I scarce knew what to think, considering they had the practice of their whole church on their side (Moravian), till I opened my Testament on these words: What is that to thee? Follow thou Me."[36]

[34] *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 356.
[35] *Journal*, vol. I, p. 482.
[36] Ibid., p. 336.

In other instances Wesley made journeys, decided on how he should treat other individuals, what he should preach upon, by means of these chance openings of the Bible. To him of course, they were not chance openings but the very direction of the Spirit of God.

IV. The Bible as a Guide in Church Organization

Concerning the Methodist Discipline, Wesley said, "It is entirely founded on common sense, particularly applying the general rules of Scripture."[37]

(a) Concerning the rise of the Class-meetings, out of which the Methodist organization eventually came, Wesley writes:

"One after another came to us, asking what they should do, being distressed on every side; as every one strove to weaken, and none to strengthen their hands in God. We advised them, 'Strengthen you one another.' Talk together as often as you can. And pray earnestly with and for one another, that you may 'endure to the end and be saved.' Against this advice we presumed there could be no objection; as being grounded on the plainest reason, and on *so many scriptures both of the Old Testament and New*, that it would be tedious to recite them. . . . 'So I told them, If you will all of you come together every Thursday in the evening, I will gladly spend some time with you in prayer, and give you the best advice I can.' "[38]

(b) The test used for membership in these societies which Wesley formed was a scriptural one, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins."[39]

No theological tests were made, no distinct opinions had to be held, any mode of baptism was allowed. Only one condition was required—a real desire to save their souls.

(c) As the movement developed and class-leaders were appointed and money was raised through the class organizations, objections began to be met. Some said to Wesley, "There is no Scripture for this, for classes, and I know not what."

"I answer," said Wesley, " '(1) There is no Scripture against it. You

[37] "God's Vineyard." Works ii, 388.
[38] "The People called Methodists." Works v, 176.
[39] "General Rules."

cannot show me one text that forbids them. (2) There is much Scripture for it, even all those texts which enjoin the substance of those various duties whereof this is only an indifferent circumstance, to be determined by reason and experience. (3) You seem not to have observed, that the Scriptures, in most points, give only general rules, and leave the particular circumstances to be adjusted by the common sense of mankind.' "[39]

Later on, when Wesley divided the classes into bands for better supervision, and had the men of the local church meet in a band by themselves, the women in one by themselves, and then separated the married from the unmarried, again objection was made, "There is no Scripture for them. These are man's works, man's building, man's invention." Wesley replied, "I reply, these are also prudential helps, grounded on reason and experience, in order to apply the general rules given in Scripture according to particular circumstances."[40]

(d) Wesley's use of the lay helper and preacher was a distinct innovation in English church life and one which aroused much criticism. In defense Wesley said, "I know no Scripture which forbids making use of such help, in a case of such necessity. And I praise God who has given even this help to those poor sheep, when "their own shepherds pitied them not."[41]

We note therefore that Wesley did not make his criterion, Only that which is spoken of in Scripture; but rather, That which common sense dictates and which is not contrary to Scripture is allowable.

(e) When Wesley organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in America he believed that he had scriptural warrant for the form he gave it and for his ordination of Dr. Coke as General Superintendent with authority to ordain Francis Asbury to the same office. From which ordination has come the line of Methodist bishops. In a letter to the Church in America, written in 1784, Wesley wrote, "Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church* convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain."[42]

In another letter written a year later, he said, "I firmly be-

[39] "The People called Methodists."
[40] *A Further Appeal to men of Reason and Religion.* Works v, 158.
[41] Works, vii, 311.

lieve I am a scriptural ἐπίσκοπος, as much as any man in England or in Europe."[43]

In the letter to the American Church, quoted above, Wesley wrote:

"If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it."

(f) In formulating for the American Church its Article on the Bible, Wesley followed closely the Anglican Article, which states the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation.

"The Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary for salvation."[44]

V. Evaluation

From our study we see that to Wesley, the Bible was not so much a book of theology as a guide to conduct and the practical affairs of life. Wesley did not build a theological monument, but gave England a new life which he found the inspiration for in the Holy Scriptures. His message was not that true religion is a matter of opinion but consists in love to God and man, and for such love the Bible is the sole and sufficient guide.

It was a very human device which made the Protestant schoolmen of the seventeenth century substitute the authority of a Book in place of that of the church, but it has resulted in the mistreatment of that Book. Wesley did much to restore that Book to its rightful place as a fountain of inspiration for conduct. Thus the Wesleyan revival was a real deliverance from Protestantism gone to seed in the fields of scholasticism. And Wesley bequeathed to his church no doctrine of the Scriptures which was speculative, but one which was practical, a doctrine emphasizing its worth for experience and living rather than for dogmatic deliverances.[45] It is stated in the General Rules thus:

"These are the General Rules of our Societies; all which we are

[43] Works vii, 312.
[44] Article V.
[45] "Authority and Inspiration," George Elliott, Methodist Review, May, '95, p. 450.

taught of God to observe, even in His written Word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice."

This practical use of the Bible was so strong with Wesley that he even protested against those who thought that knowledge of the Bible itself was a virtue.

"What," he asks, "would it profit a man 'to have all knowledge,' even that which is infinitely preferable to all other, the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures? I knew a young man about twenty years ago, who was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament, he would tell, after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place. His name was Thomas Walsh. Such a master of Bible knowledge, I never saw before, and never expect to see again. Yet if with all his knowledge he had been void of love; if he had been proud, passionate, or impatient: he and all his knowledge would have perished together, as sure as ever he was born."[46]

Censorious critics may, of course, find flaws in Wesley's use of the Bible, his strained interpretations at some points—e. g., asserting that "he cannot sin" must not be modified in any way—his special pleadings, and his emphasis on literalism where it suited his purpose. Wesley himself believed in witches on the authority of the Bible. He had persuaded himself that to surrender belief in witchcraft would be to quarrel with the declarations of the Book. In this he was a child of his age, for, "It must be remembered that in the eighteenth century his Majesty's judges 'believed in witches' and the laws of the realm treated witchcraft as a real and deadly fact, to be dealt with adequately by the stake or the gallows. Two witches were executed at Northampton in 1705, and five more in 1712. A woman was executed in Scotland for witchcraft in 1722."[47]

Again, Wesley drew from the Bible his belief in the authority of the king.

"Now I cannot but acknowledge, I believe an old book, commonly called the Bible, to be true. Therefore, I believe, 'there is no power but from God: the powers that be are ordained of God.' Rom. 13. 1. There is no subordinate power in any nation, but what is derived from the su-

[46] Sermon on "Charity." Works ii, 279.
[47] *Wesley and his Century*, p. 489.

preme power therein. So in England the king, in the United Provinces the states are the fountain of all power."[48]

But Wesley's fundamental approach to the Bible is still of great value; indeed, it is the modern approach, that which puts the emphasis on the religious experience rather than the religious opinion. Wesley in the twentieth century would naturally be a different man from the Wesley of the eighteenth, but it may confidently be stated that Wesley would have been unshaken by the strenuous and many-voiced unbelief of to-day. "The larger knowledge of the twentieth century might have altered the accent of his teaching, but not its substance."

The doubts and discussions raised by Higher Criticism and the modern scientific approach to the Bible would have not touched Wesley's central position. To him the critics would seem like men discussing the shape of the vessel which carries the living water of truth.

"The Bible," he would have said, "on any theory, is a divine revelation; a law of conduct; a chart by which we are to sail. It is not a puzzle to be solved, but a system of precepts to be obeyed."

And Wesley would have called on listening crowds to-day in accents as urgent and convinced as he did over a hundred years ago, to accept the message of the divine book, and to shape life by its laws. The principles, in a word, on which Wesley believed and lived and worked in the eighteenth century would, for him, have been just as effective if they had been suddenly transferred to the twentieth century."[49]

[48] Works vi, 269.

[49] *Wesley and his Century*, 522–4.

JOHN WESLEY DISCOURSES UPON OLD AGE

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THE standard edition of John Wesley's Journal, edited by Nehemiah Curnock, is one of the most fascinating literary works imaginable. The editor, at the greatest of pains, has assembled in eight volumes the complete daily chroniclings of this most remarkable man, who was constantly on the road, and wrote as he traveled. Never was there so observing a man as Wesley. His power of introspection was as acute as his genius for circumspection. His journal reads like a novel. My volumes are marked on nearly every page, so striking are the numerous passages.

I desire to present in this article a picture of John Wesley in his study of himself. At the return of each twenty-eighth of June after he had passed his seventy-first birthday, he indulged, almost to the last, in a personal observation upon the return of his natal day. To present these records in one article where they can be read without intermission will add a peculiar charm to the whole.

Mr. Wesley, like all men who see age approaching, would not have it thus. Time and again have I heard some veteran at Conference whose appointment was in jeopardy declare with almost a show of gusto, "I feel just as young as I ever was. I preach better and call as much." It is pathetic. In Wesley's case, there was assuredly a large justification for his "boasting," since his works justified his words. Had he been a Methodist itinerant, or even bishop, in 1922, I am just a little curious to know whether he would have sustained the active relation as long as he did. Upon June 28, 1774, he makes his first entry as to his approaching age:

1774.

This being my birthday, the first day of my seventy-second year, I was considering, How is this that I find just the same strength as I did thirty years ago? That my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer than they were then? That I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand cause is the good pleasure of God, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him. The chief means are (1) my constantly rising at four for about fifty years; (2) my

generally preaching at five in the morning—one of the most healthy exercises in the world; (3) my never traveling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year.

There is no record for the next year. The fact is, Mr. Wesley was quite sick on that particular date, so sick that his life was in the balance. He thus describes his condition: "It will soon be determined whether I live. My tongue is swollen and as black as coal. I am convulsed all over; for some time my heart did not beat perceptibly, nor was my pulse discernible." A ministerial friend wrote him, "I beseech you to preach less frequently. You yourself do not know of how great importance your life is." But he recovers and in 1776 makes the following comment:

1776.

I am seventy-three years old, and far abler to preach than I was at three-and-twenty. What natural means has God used to produce so wonderful an effect? (1) Continual exercise and change of air, by traveling above four thousand miles a year; (2) constant rising at four; (3) the ability, if ever I want, to sleep immediately; (4) the never losing a night's sleep in my life; (5) two violent fevers, and two deep consumptions. These, it is true, were rough medicines; but they were of admirable service; causing my flesh to come again, as the flesh of a little child. May I add, lastly, evenness of temper? I feel and grieve; but, by the grace of God, I fret at nothing. But still "the help that is done upon earth, he doeth it himself." And this he doeth in answer to many prayers.

In the next two or three records he confines himself to little more than the statement of his having passed another year. Strangely, he invariably compares his feelings then to some former and quite early year, the year varying somewhat.

1777.

I have now completed my seventy-fourth year, and by the peculiar favor of God I find my health and strength, and all my faculties of body and mind, just the same as they were at four-and-twenty.

1778.

I am this day seventy-five years old, and I do not find myself, blessed be God, any weaker than I was at five-and-twenty. This also hath God wrought.

1780.

I can hardly think I am entered this day into the seventy-eighth year of my age. By the blessing of God, I am just the same as when I entered the twenty-eighth. This hath God wrought, chiefly by my constant exercise, my rising early, and preaching morning and evening.

1781.

I preached at eleven in the main street at Selby to a large and quiet congregation; and in the evening at Thorne. This day I entered my seventy-ninth year; and, by the grace of God, I feel no more of the infirmities of old age than I did at twenty-nine.

He now returns to a diagnosis of the causes of his remarkable vitality. Observe how he clings to the assurance that sleep, early rising, and a life of constant activity are contributing causes. He began with a wiry, virile body, but this would have been swept aside long before his strength did fail had he adopted the tactics of so many modern-day preachers who retire before seventy.

1782.

I entered my eightieth year; but, blessed be God, my time is not "labor and sorrow." I find no more pain or bodily infirmities than at five-and-twenty. This I still impute (1) to the power of God fitting me for what he calls me to; (2) to my still traveling four or five thousand miles a year; (3) to my sleeping night and day whenever I want to; (4) to my rising at a set hour; and (5) to my constant preaching, particularly in the morning.

1783.

I have this day lived fourscore years and, by the mercy of God, my eyes are not waxed dim. And what little strength of body or mind I had thirty years since, just the same I have now. God grant I may never live to be useless! Rather may I

My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live.

1784.

To-day I entered on my eighty-second year, and found myself just as strong to labor, and as fit for any exercise of body or mind, as I was forty years ago. I do not impute this to second causes, but to the Sovereign Lord of all. It is he who bids the sun of life stand still, so long as it pleaseth him. I am as strong at eighty-one as I was at twenty-one; but abundantly more healthy, being a stranger to the headache, toothache, and other bodily disorders which attended me in my youth. We can only say, "The Lord reigneth!" While we live, let us live to him.

1785.

By the good providence of God, I finished the eighty-second year of my age. Is anything too hard for God? It is now eleven years since I have felt any such thing as weariness. Many times I speak till my voice fails, and I can speak no longer; frequently I walk till my strength fails, and I can walk no farther; yet even then I feel no sensation of weariness, but am perfectly easy from head to foot. I dare not impute this to natural causes; it is the will of God.

1786.

I entered into the eighty-third year of my age. I am a wonder to myself. It is now twelve years since I have felt any such sensation as weariness. I am never tired (such is the goodness of God!), either with writing, preaching or traveling. One natural cause undoubtedly is my continual exercise and change of air. How the latter contributes to health I know not, but it certainly does.

He skips his eighty-fourth year, but comes back strong on his eighty-fifth with a dissertation delightful to read. Wesley divides the causes of his longevity between Providence, which he places a good first, and what he calls secondary causes. These latter he has enumerated time and again, but now analyzes in greater detail.

1788.

I this day enter on my eighty-fifth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also! How little have I suffered yet by "the rush of numerous years"! It is true I am not so agile as I was in times past. I do not run or walk so fast as I did; my sight is a little decayed; my left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read; I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple (occasioned by a blow received some months since), and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain, and partly to the rheumatism. I find likewise some decay in my memory in regard to names and things lately passed, but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard twenty, forty, or sixty years ago; neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste, or appetite (though I want but a third part of the food I did once); nor do I feel any such thing as weariness, either in traveling or preaching; and I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and, I believe, as correctly, as ever.

To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein; and, next, subordinately, to this, to the prayers of his children.

May we not impute it, as inferior means:

1. To my constant exercise and change of air?

2. To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or at sea, since I was born.

3. To my having sleep at command, so that whenever I feel myself almost worn out I call it, and it comes, day or night?

4. To my having constantly, for above sixty years, risen at four in the morning?

5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning for above fifty years?

6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care?

Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, or temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

Whether or not this is sent to give we warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle I do not know; but, be it one way or the other, I have only to say:

"My remnant of days
I spend to His praise
Who died the whole world to redeem:
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him!"

And now comes the sad confession and acknowledgment of approaching age. Wesley has fought a good fight; he has refused to recognize the inroads of age, but between the last record and the following he has been brought to the inevitable. With what sadness did he pen the next record, "I find I am growing old." Think of it! He discovered that fact on his eighty-sixth birthday, long after the majority of folks are dead and all but forgotten. And now he consents to indicate, though briefly as though it were painful to indite, the order of his decline:

1789.

This day I enter my eighty-sixth year. I now find I grow old; (1) my sight is decayed, so that I cannot read a small print, unless in a strong light; (2) my strength is decayed, so that I walk much slower than I did some years since; (3) my memory of names, whether of persons or places, is decayed till I stop a little to recollect them. What I should be afraid of is, if I took thought for the morrow, that my body should weigh down my mind, and create either stubbornness, by the decrease of my understanding, or peevishness, by the increase of bodily infirmities. But Thou shalt answer for me, O Lord my God.

There is but a single remaining record. With a complete recognition of the approaching end he closes the record with a most pathetic line. He passed to his reward the following year.

This day I enter into my eighty-eighth year. For above eighty-six years I found none of the infirmities of old age; my eyes did not wax dim; neither was my natural strength abated. But last August I found almost a sudden change. My eyes were so dim that no glasses would help me. My strength likewise now quite forsook me, and probably will not return in this world. But I feel no pain from head to foot; only it seems nature is exhausted, and, humanly speaking, will sink more and more, till—

The weary springs of life stand still at last.

JOHN WESLEY IN IRELAND

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The eighteenth century was Ireland's period of greatest depression. Sir William Petty, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, concerning Irish conditions, said, "The British Protestants and church have three fourths of all the lands; five sixths of all the housing; nine tenths of all the housing in walled towns and places of strength; two thirds of the foreign trade, . . . six out of eight of all the Irish live in a brutish, nasty condition, as in cabins, with neither chimney, door, stairs, nor window; feed chiefly upon milk and potatoes, whereby their spirits are not disposed for war." (Sir William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1762), chapter v, section 1.) Nor do John Wesley's observations on conditions in Ireland, made during his second visit to that island in 1748, differ greatly from those of Sir William Petty. Said he, "I never saw so many ruinous buildings in any country as in all parts of Ireland. I fear God hath still a controversy with this land, because it is so defiled with blood." (*The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, edited by Nehemiah Curnock, London, vol. iii, p. 344.) Again he observes:

> One who looks on the common Irish cabins might imagine Saturn still reigned here;
>
> "Cum frigida parvas
> Praeberet spelunca domos; ignemque, laremque,
> Et pecus et dominos, communi clauderet umbra.
> (The narrow cave a cold retreat affords,
> And beasts and men screens with one common shade.)"
>
> *Communi umbra* indeed; for no light can come into the earth or straw-built cavern, on the master and his cattle, but at one hole; which is both window, chimney, and door. (*Journal*, vol. iii, p. 350.)

I need not describe at great length the mistaken policy of England which had brought Ireland to this degraded and deplorable condition. Unfortunately for both England and Ireland, the

English failed to conquer the Irish during the Middle Ages, as she had conquered Wales and Scotland. By 1570 England had become definitely and permanently Protestant, while Ireland remained Catholic, and thus was added another great force, which combined with the differences in race and temperament, together with the fact that one had developed a strong national government, while the other remained tribal in organization, operated to keep the English and Irish people apart. Then followed the terrible years under Elizabeth, James I and Cromwell. In Elizabeth's reign vast Irish estates were confiscated and granted to the Queen's favorites, while under James the Ulster plantation was laid out and English and Scottish colonists were sent over to take possession of the ancient Irish lands. More terrible than all else was the conquest of Cromwell in 1652, when a third of the population perished by the sword, by pestilence and by famine, leaving bitter memories, which time has by no means blotted out. Finally, with the Restoration came the attempts of Charles II and James II to restore some of the confiscated lands, but with the overthrow of the second James and the triumph of William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne this attempt came to naught.

So that period in English history which we call the time of the glorious Revolution is the time in Irish history when her hopes came to an end. The Irish survived the wars of extermination of Elizabeth and Cromwell, but they now were an enfeebled race. "Of those who were left, some tilled the soil of their fathers, little better than serfs, others had taken refuge in the wild and forbidding parts of the west. Four fifths of the land had been confiscated; and two thirds of all the good land was actually in possession of alien owners." (E. R. Turner, *Ireland and England*, New York, 1919, p. 80.)

The story of eighteenth century Ireland has been often told, and it will doubtless be often retold. It is a tale of selfish rule "and of misery deep and unending." The condition of the Irish people in this century was probably the worst in Europe. The holders of the great Irish estates were alien in race and religion, while an alien church, the Anglican Establishment, was largely supported by tithes collected from the poor. Worst of all was the

curse of absenteeism. From much earlier times the alien lords of Irish estates had gone to England to live on their rents, and it has been estimated that in 1729 £627,000 went out of Ireland to landlords who lived abroad. Added to this were the frequent famines, two of the worst occurring in 1729 and 1741, which greatly increased the misery of the land.

Such was the Ireland into which John Wesley went, on his first visit in 1747. Already Methodism had been introduced into the island. There had been formed in 1745 a small society of "pious people," gathered together by an English soldier, and the work was continued by a young Baptist student, Benjamin La Trobe. The next year a Moravian minister, John Cennick, went to Dublin and began to preach for this society and he soon had gathered 500 members. While Cennick was in attendance upon a Moravian synod in Germany, one of Wesley's preachers, Thomas Williams, went to Dublin and succeeded in forming a separate society, made up mostly of former members of this Moravian band. The formation of this society was the occasion of John Wesley's first visit to Dublin. (Luke Tyerman, *Life and Times of John Wesley*, New York, 1872, vol. i, pp. 556, 557.)

This first visit lasted from August 8 to September 23, Wesley spending the time in and around Dublin. He found 280 members and thought "the people generally . . . of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of England." (*Journal*, vol. iii, p. 314.) He visited the Archbishop and conversed with him two or three hours, in which he answered "abundance of objections." (*Journal*, vol. iii, p. 313.) The Dublin churches he thought "poor and mean," both within and without. He procured an account of the great Irish massacre of 1641, and commenting upon it says, "Surely never was [this was the Ulster Rebellion in which perhaps 15,000 Protestant colonists lost their lives] there such a transaction before, from the beginning of the world! More than two hundred thousand men, women and children butchered within a few months, in cool blood, and with such circumstances of cruelty as make one's blood run cold! It is well if God has not a controversy with the nation on this very account to this day." (*Journal*, vol. iii, p. 314.)

Commenting upon the religious situation, he says: "At least ninety-nine in an hundred of the native Irish remain in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England. Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists generally live and die such, when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and Acts of Parliament."

On Wesley's return to England he was soon succeeded in Ireland by his brother Charles. During the interval between the brothers' visits a mob had broken into the Methodist chapel in Dublin and destroyed the furniture, the pews and pulpit having been burnt openly in the street, while several of the Methodists had been beaten with shillalahs. Within a month, however, after the coming of Charles a new place of meeting had been secured by purchase and Methodism was fairly started in Ireland. Writing on October 10 (1747), Charles states: "At my first coming here, we were so persecuted that no one in Dublin would venture to let us a house or room; but now their hearts are turned, and we have the offer of several convenient places." (Methodist Magazine, 1848, p. 516. Also Charles Wesley's *Journal,* Sept. 9 to March 20, 1748.) The Wesleys at once began the preparation of an Irish Methodist Hymn-Book entitled *Hymns and Sacred Poems,* which was published in Dublin in 1747.

The events above described mark the beginnings of Methodism in Ireland. As Lecky states (*History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* vol. iii, p. 110), Wesley found in Ireland "a soil preeminently suited for his seed." It is true the vast majority of the people were Roman Catholics, and some of the Anglican clergy opposed Wesley bitterly, but on the whole he met with comparatively little real opposition. The Irish people made the best possible impression upon both John and Charles Wesley. Writing from Dublin during his first visit Wesley says, "For natural sweetness of temper, for courtesy and hospitality, I have never seen any people like the Irish." (Eayrs, *John Wesley's Letters,* pp. 298, 299.) Again he observes, commenting on the Dublin situation, "If my brother or I could have been here for a few months, I question if there might not have been a larger society here than

even in London itself." On his second tour he writes, "So general a drawing I have never known among any people, so that as yet none even seem to oppose the truth."

While finding the Irish people most likable, hospitable and "easy to be persuaded," yet on various occasions Wesley deplored the instability of their national character. He complained that the societies fluctuated greatly, from year to year. In a letter written from Dublin in 1750 he says: "I have had so hurrying a time for two or three months, as I scarce ever had before: such a mixture of storms and clear sunshine, of huge applause and huge opposition. Indeed the Irish, in general, keep no bounds. I think there is not such another nation in Europe, so 'Impetuous in their love and in their hate!' " (Eayrs, *John Wesley's Letters,* p. 309.)

"The opinion of so great a master of the art of government concerning the proper method of ruling Ireland," says Lecky, "is well worthy of quotation." On his visit to Ireland in 1758 Wesley makes this observation: "Nothing is wanted here but a rigorous discipline, which is more needful in this than in any other nation, the people in general being so soft and delicate that the least slackness utterly destroys them."

With few exceptions Methodism was practically free from persecution in Ireland. One of the most notorious exceptions occurred in Cork during the years 1749 and 1750. When Methodism was first introduced in Cork it was received without opposition, but finally in May, 1749, a mob collected through the efforts of a certain Nicholas Butler, a ballad-singer, who went about the streets singing and vending doggerel rhymes maligning the Methodists. As a result of Butler's activity a mob soon gathered at the Methodist chapel and pelted the congregation with dirt. The next day stones were used, as well as mud, and several members were attacked with clubs and swords. Day after day, through two months, the mob continued its work, maiming and bruising the Methodists, both men and women, and destroying their property. Meanwhile the Mayor made no effort to disperse the mob, but by his action rather encouraged them. One of the Cork Methodists, Daniel Sullivan, a baker, after his shop had been practically destroyed by the mob, appealed to the Mayor for protection, and received

this reply: "It is your own fault for entertaining those preachers." On this Sullivan retorted, "This is a fine usage under a Protestant government; if I had a priest saying mass in my house, it would not be touched." "The priests are tolerated," replied the Mayor, "but you are not." (Sullivan's house was the preacher's home, and was also sometimes used for preaching.) (Wesley's *Journal,* vol. iii, pp. 409-414. See also Tyerman, vol. ii, pp. 37-42.)

Attempts were made to bring the culprits to justice and several depositions were laid before the grand jury on two occasions, but in each instance they were rejected. A true bill was obtained, however, against several of the preachers, who were accused of being vagabonds, while they were ordered into the dock with the common criminals. One of the accusers of the preachers was Butler, the ballad-singer. When the judge asked him his calling he hung his head and replied, "I sing ballads, my lord." On this the judge evidenced great surprise and said, "Here are six gentlemen indicted as vagabonds, and the first accuser is a vagabond by profession." This infamous attempt proved disastrous to the ring-leaders of the mob, but the riots against the Methodists nevertheless continued.

The next year, when Wesley visited Cork, the disorder was still going on. On leaving the chapel after preaching in the evening, Wesley was attacked by the mob and was compelled to make his way through a storm of missiles. For a week this disorder continued, while an infuriated mob patrolled the streets and abused all who were suspected of belonging to the Methodists. After a week of such experience Wesley addressed a letter to the Mayor of Cork, which concludes: "I fear God and honor the King. I earnestly desire to be at peace with all men. I have not willingly given offence either to the magistrates, the clergy or any of the inhabitants of the city of Cork; neither do I desire anything of them, but to be treated —(I will not say as a clergyman, a gentleman, or a Christian, but)—with such justice and humanity as are due to a Jew, a Turk, or a pagan." There were other disturbances at Kilkenny and one of Wesley's preachers was killed at Athlone, but aside from these rare instances, Wesley's many visits to the Emerald Isle were strangely peaceful.

Anyone discussing Wesley's work in Ireland will naturally be expected to say something about his relation to the Catholic population. Throughout all of Wesley's visits his sympathies remained strongly with the poorer classes and as a whole this class treated him with courtesy and respect. "The poor in Ireland," he states, "in general are well behaved; all the ill-breeding is among well dressed people." (*Journal,* vol. vii, p. 77.) Again he observes: "I reached Ballinrobe in time to preach to a large and well behaved (though genteel) congregation." (*Journal,* vol. vii, p. 278.) He finds nothing but condemnation for the gentry, "who are continually driving away hundreds, yea thousands, of those that remain, by throwing such quantities of arable land into pasture, which leaves them (the Irish peasants) neither business nor food." On one occasion he is disturbed by some boisterous young officers, who, he says, are the "only wild Irish" he had encountered.

Wesley and his preachers frequently won favor with the Catholic people of Ireland, or Papists, as he invariably calls them. On his second visit he often preached to congregations containing Catholics. He speaks of the society at Tyrril's Pass having nine former Papists as members (*Journal,* vol. iii, p. 342), and at Athlone he preaches to a large congregation nearly all of whom were Catholics. Frequently the priests attempted to keep their flocks from attending Wesley's services, but it was generally of no avail. The priest at Athlone made the attempt, but "Abundance of Papists flocked to hear, so that the poor priest, seeing his command did not avail came in person at six and drove them away before him like a flock of sheep." (*Journal,* vol. iii, p. 344.) At this particular service a number of dragoons were in attendance and they were so aroused at the action of the priest that "on a word spoken, he (the captain) would have laid him (the priest) in irons, and his soldiers were full as warm as himself."

On some occasions Wesley makes conflicting statements regarding the Catholic population in Ireland, which is well illustrated by the Journal of his visit in 1758. Preaching not far from Castlebar, he is "surprised to see how little the Irish Papists are changed in a hundred years. Most of them retain the same bitterness, yea, and thirst for blood, as ever, and would as freely now

cut the throats of all the Protestants as they did in the last century." (*Journal,* vol. iv, p. 268.) Less than a week after the above entry he makes this observation, after preaching to a congregation "of whom four fifths were Papists": "Would to God the Government would ensure to all Papists in the land so much liberty of conscience that none might hinder them from hearing the true word of God! Then, as they hear, so let them judge." (*Journal,* vol. iv, p. 269.) Very evidently conditions differed in different parts of the island.

In Wesley's *Journal* for January 18, 1780, appears this entry: "Receiving more and more accounts of the increase of Popery, I believed it my duty to write a letter concerning it, which was afterwards inserted in the public papers. Many were grievously offended; but I cannot help it; I must follow my own conscience." (*Journal,* vol. vi, p. 267.) This letter was occasioned by conditions in England. War was raging on every side, and war-weary England faced France, Spain, and America, while Holland was soon to join with England's enemies. It was one of the gravest crises England had ever experienced and Wesley was thinking of his country's safety. Catholicism had recently received great encouragement in England by the passage of an Act (1778) "enabling Roman Catholics who abjured the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope to purchase and inherit land, and freeing their priests from liability to imprisonment." (Cross, *A Shorter History of England and Greater Britain,* p. 534.)

In his letter Wesley argued that Catholics could not give real allegiance to any government since the Council of Constance had declared "no faith is to be kept with heretics" (Tyerman, vol. iii, pp. 318-320), and since that is so, no member of that church can give any government unhampered loyalty. Wesley disclaims, however, any desire to persecute Catholics or anyone else. He says: "With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as 'boundless freedom in religion' as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point; I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the word of God. I consider not whether the Romish religion be

true or false; I build nothing on one or the other supposition. Therefore, away with all your commonplace declamation about intolerance and persecution in religion! Suppose every word of Pope Pius's creed to be true; suppose the Council of Trent to have been infallible; yet, I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion." Later in another letter Wesley says further: "Would I then wish the Roman Catholics to be persecuted? I never said or hinted any such thing. I abhor the thought; it is foreign to all I have preached or wrote for these fifty years. But I would wish the Romanists in England (I had no other in view) to be treated still with the same lenity that they have been these sixty years; to be allowed both civil and religious liberty, but not permitted to undermine ours, . . . not to be persecuted themselves: but gently restrained from hurting their neighbors." (Tyerman, vol. iii, p. 322.) These letters clearly define Wesley's position in regard to religious toleration.

The most important reply to the above letters was written by Rev. Arthur O'Leary, an Irish Catholic priest. In his pamphlet of 101 pages O'Leary says Ireland's climate has purged the veins of her people from "the sour and acid blood of the Sythians and Saxons"; the Irish are good natured and "tender hearted" and deplore "religious bigotry." He points out that there is after all no reason for religious bickerings between Catholics and Protestants: "The Roman Catholics sing their psalms in Latin, with few inflections of the voice. Our Protestant neighbors sing the same psalms in English, on a larger scale of musical notes. We never quarrel with our honest and worthy neighbors, the Quakers, for not singing at all; nor shall we quarrel with Mr. Wesley for raising his voice to heaven, and warbling forth his canticles on whatever tune he pleases." O'Leary's pamphlet was clever and amusing, though Wesley complains that it did not even attempt to answer his arguments, and was no more an answer to his letter "than to the Bull *Unigenitus*."

Seven years after this controversy, in his tour of Ireland in 1787, a gentleman invited Wesley to breakfast with his old Irish antagonist, Father O'Leary. Wesley went and has made this

record of the meeting: "I was not at all displeased at being disappointed. He is not the stiff, queer man that I expected, but of an easy, genteel carriage, and seems not to be wanting either in sense or learning." (*Journal,* vol. vii, p. 274.) Boswell says concerning the controversy, "The Capuchin gave Wesley a drubbing." With this opinion, however, Tyerman does not agree and remarks, "O'Leary was baffled, and, to this day the arguments in Wesley's letter of January 21, 1780, remain unanswered." (Tyerman, vol. iii, p. 320.)

Wesley's relations to other Protestant bodies in Ireland were generally cordial. Frequently in the north of Ireland he preached in Presbyterian churches, though on a few occasions Presbyterian ministers opposed him. On one occasion a Presbyterian minister wrote the Catholic priest at Rothfryland to keep his people from hearing Wesley preach, but Wesley states the effort availed nothing. (*Journal,* vol. iv, p. 379.) At Athlone "Some Papists and two or three good Protestant families were cordially joined together to oppose the work of God; but they durst not yet do it openly, the stream running so strong against them." (*Journal,* vol. iii, p. 349.) These instances of opposition, however, were exceptions rather than the rule. On his last visit to Ireland, in 1789, Wesley went to the "heads of the large meeting-house" in Belfast to obtain its use for his service, "which they granted in the most obliging manner." This meeting-house Wesley describes as the "completest place of public worship I have ever seen." (*Journal,* vol. vii, p. 508.) The next day he again preaches in the Presbyterian meeting house at Newtownards, and a few days later at Newry, where the Presbyterian meeting-house is "well filled with rich and poor" to hear the venerable Wesley. (*Journal,* vol. vii, pp. 509, 511.)

It was not an uncommon thing for Wesley to meet bitter opposition at the hands of the clergy of the Established Church, especially during his earlier visits to Ireland, but on the whole the picture he gives of the Establishment in Ireland is not unfavorable. (Lecky, vol. iii, p. 113.) Frequently he attended services at the Established churches and repeatedly chronicles the impressive sermons he heard in the parish churches, "and acknowledges the sym-

pathy he had met with from more than one Bishop." In 1750 one Anglican clergyman, Rev. Richard Lloyd, got into serious trouble with his Bishop for allowing Wesley to preach in his church. In a long reply to the Bishop's letter of protest Mr. Lloyd says: "I confess that Mr. Wesley has preached (though seldomer than has been wished) in my church. And I thought that a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, who is admitted to preach before the university there, and has preached in many churches in London, and other parts of England, as also in Dublin might be permitted to preach here also." The closing sentence of this spirited letter reads: "Religion, my lord, is now at a very low ebb in the world; and we can scarce see the outward form of it remaining. But corrupt as the world is, it is thought better that the devil should reign, than that Mr. Wesley should preach, especially in a church." (Tyerman, vol. ii, p. 79.)

Altogether John Wesley visited Ireland forty-two times, averaging one visit a year from 1747, the date of his first, to 1789, the date of his last visit. Tyerman has computed that he occupied not less than six years in the Emerald Isle and directly and indirectly they were among the most fruitful years of his long life. (Tyerman, vol. i, p. 557.) Although Wesley's labor in Ireland resulted in the organization of a fairly numerous body of Irish Methodists, yet perhaps the greatest influences were indirect. One of the indirect influences was the rekindling of life in the Established Church of Ireland. The evangelical party, however, did not gain the ascendency in the Irish Established Church until after the death of Wesley, but it was not long thereafter until the Irish Church became by far the most evangelical section of the Anglican Establishment. (Lecky, vol. iii, p. 114.) Another interesting indirect result came about through Irish immigration to America. Barbara Heck and Philip Embury, the founders of Methodism in New York, and Robert Strawbridge, the founder of Methodism in Maryland, were all Irish immigrants. Then also Scotch-Irish Presbyterians having been made familiar with Methodism in Ulster, through the efforts of Wesley and his preachers, when they came to America they welcomed Methodists among them, hailed them as spiritual kinsmen, and together they created

that great frontier institution, the camp-meeting. (Briggs, *Life of Asbury,* pp. 315-317.)

Wesley's last visit to Ireland was made in 1789 and occupied the months from March to July. The year had been an exceedingly prosperous one for Irish Methodism, there being an increase in the membership of 1,800, while ten candidates for the ministry were admitted on trial. The members of the Irish Conference by this time were chiefly Irishmen, and for them Wesley entertained the deepest affection and the highest opinion.

It was on Sunday, July 12, that John Wesley said his farewell to Ireland. On that morning he had preached a farewell sermon before the Conference, and at the close had given out the hymn, "Come let us join our friends above," telling the people it was the sweetest hymn his brother ever wrote. After administering the Lord's Supper, he dined in the home of a friend, prayed with the family, and then proceeded to the packet, accompanied by many friends. Before going on board he gave out a hymn and after he and his friends had sung it through, he knelt down and asked God's blessing upon them and their families, and especially Ireland. He then shook hands with all present, while a few fell on his neck and kissed him, and many wept. He then went on deck, "the vessel moved" out, and with hands still lifted in prayer "the winds of heaven wafted him from" the island which he dearly loved, "and the Irish Methodists saw his face no more." (For an account of the farewell to Ireland see the *Journal,* vol. vii, pp. 517-518. Also Crookshank, *History of Methodism,* vol. i, pp. 462ff.)

METHODISM: AN INSIDE VIEW

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Some time ago one of the American magazines published a series of articles by prominent churchmen containing the author's views of a church of some other denomination than his own. The article on Methodism was from the pen of Doctor William E. Barton, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Oak Park, Illinois. It was entitled "Methodism—An Outside View," and was a very interesting, courteous and humorous article. After reading the article one cannot escape from the conclusion that the title was most appropriate, for many of the statements clearly revealed the fact that the author is an "outsider." He makes it perfectly plain that it is utterly unthinkable that he should ever become a Methodist, and yet, accepting the article on its face value, it is safe to say he might do worse. Among other strong and significant statements which the article contains are the following, which are worthy of special mention:

"The power of Methodism is in the simplicity and directness of its evangel and in its consecrated earnestness," and, also, "I could wish that Methodism should never become so intellectual as to forget that men and women live in the sphere of their emotions. Love and sacrifice and willingness to give all for Christ are qualities not attained wholly by appeal to reason."

These statements suggest the timeliness of a study of an inside view of Methodism in order that we may ascertain, if possible, what our present spiritual condition is and whither we are tending.

Is the Methodist Episcopal Church spiritually what she should be? Answer—She never has been. It is not in any academic sense, however, that we raise the question. We ask it seriously and are forced to reply—"She is not." If the answer is correct, there must be a reason. Before attempting to state what we believe is the reason, a word regarding some of the

achievements of the past four or five years is essential in order that we may not be misunderstood.

The Centenary movement from the standpoint of Christian statesmanship and holy daring was one of the greatest forward movements ever launched by a single denomination in the history of the Christian Church. In its later developments it became a world-embracing movement. It touched every center of church life and reached, directly or indirectly, every Methodist in the world. It was not originally a mechanical movement relying upon the power and effectiveness of mere organization. Organization was essential, but that was in a very real sense a minor consideration by those who were responsible for the plan and who launched the movement. It was a spiritual call, with an emphasis upon prayer, Christian stewardship, evangelism and social service, such as the church at large had not given in many years. The response by the church was quick, sincere and sacrificial. Obsolete methods for the doing of the business of the church were discarded and modern methods were substituted. The entire connectionalism was knit together under the Centenary movement and became the astonishment and admiration of all other church bodies. It lifted the Methodist Church into a realm of financial giving such as had never before been attained and from which she dare not and will not retreat. Her apostolic audacity fired other denominations with a holy purpose to meet the challenge of the world's new day with the result that the church of God moved up to a higher plane of service than she had ever before attempted. Mistakes were made and it must be admitted that some of the mistakes were on a very huge scale. Nevertheless, the good accomplished far outweighs all the mistakes and blunders that were made and the church believes that the movement was of God. This is to be seen by the manner in which the church responded to the numerous special appeals that have been made during the past year and a half. The success of the "I Will Maintain" campaign is a striking illustration of the fact that the church rises to the emergency when the case is clearly and passionately presented.

In addition to the vast sums of money the church has contributed during the Centenary period for Centenary purposes,

other vast sums have been given by her to the remarkable work of the women's missionary societies, the endowment funds of the Board of Conference Claimants, the cause of Christian education, Near East and European relief, and many other worthy enterprises.

Notwithstanding all that has just been said and much more that might be said regarding the greatness of the Centenary movement, the Methodist Episcopal Church is not enjoying that degree of spiritual life and power which was the secret of her earlier triumphs.

The writer is well aware that this is a new day, that times have changed, that the enlarging fields of scientific discovery and of applied science have modified or changed certain points of emphasis, and that there has been a dissemination of knowledge more general than ever before in the history of the race. But the human heart is the same. It is conscious of the same sorrows and sufferings that have been the common lot of man from the beginning. Men yearn for peace of mind and heart and for comfort in their griefs. Is there any new way by which the heart's cry for peace can be answered except by "the peace of God that passeth all understanding"?

References are frequently made to our gains in membership when comparing the church records of one year with those of preceding years. Mindful of the gains in church membership registered during the Centenary period and thanking God for them, it must be admitted that to-day the great spiritual movements of the Methodist Church are not to be found in the United States of America, except in rare instances, but in the foreign fields. So far as we have been able to learn, every Methodist Conference in foreign countries has marked a steady increase in membership during the past decade. We know that such is not the case here at home. Some Conferences in the United States are scarcely holding their own in numbers of church members, while in others there are actually less church members than there were ten or twenty years ago.

A study of the statistics of the church, including recruits for the ministry, reveals the humiliating fact that conditions are

not as they should be and that as a church we are lacking in spiritual life and power.

If the case has been correctly stated, is it possible to arrive at an explanation of our present spiritual condition and is there a remedy?

It seems to the writer that an explanation is possible and that there is a remedy.

The Church is Split Into Groups

There is a group composed of those who possess the "social mind." There are in this group some very able leaders who for years have given themselves to a study of social questions and have rendered to the church and the Kingdom a real service. There is danger of this group giving an unbalanced emphasis to certain phases of the social question, but on the whole their efforts are stimulating and helpful. It is unfortunate, however, that so frequently members of this group appear to bear an attitude of hostility toward those who differ from them or who do not give themselves to the same kind of efforts to which they are devoting their lives. For example, the attitude of the members of this group toward those who compose the evangelistic group. If a man is evangelistically inclined he usually receives scant consideration from those of the "social mind." It frequently happens that if a person does not announce himself to be of a "social mind" he is regarded as being of an unsocial mind and is immediately discounted.

A similar criticism may also be made of those who compose the evangelistic group. Too often they insist upon a type of preaching and certain methods in the prosecution of Christian work. Many of this group are severely critical of those not evangelistically inclined and who do not find it possible to work along their prescribed lines. They freely criticise others for "not preaching the gospel," "the whole gospel," or "the simple gospel."

Then there are those who are the theological progressives and those who are the theological conservatives. There is unquestionably room in the church for both of these groups, provided the former group remains true to the historic Christ and to Methodist

fundamentals, and the latter does not block the wheels of progress. Extremists in all these groups are at present very active and aggressive, with the result that the good things for which they contend are not blended into one great common appeal for the salvation of the world. Religious intolerance is not altogether a thing of the past nor is it absent from the groups above mentioned.

When the Christian Church of North Africa became a disputing church, a large part of its time was taken with doctrinal disputes of a purely technical nature and Christianity became in the main an intellectual proposition. The inevitable outcome of the bitter controversies of that day was a divided church. The church then became so formal that even the rites of heathen temples, including certain degrading superstitions, gained a strong hold. When intellectual pride characterizes the scholarship of any church, party strife and formalism are the sure results.

The work of evangelism has been committed to a department of one of the Boards.

The Methodist Church has been known throughout all her history as an evangelistic church. She won her way very largely by her flaming evangelism, which was based upon those fundamental doctrines for which Methodism has always stood. In the times of her greatest spiritual power, her preachers declared their faith in the inspiration of the scriptures without apology, and proclaimed a supernatural Christ without mental reservation. They insisted that men should repent of their sins, and that their only hope was in accepting, by faith, Jesus Christ, as their Divine Saviour from sin. They preached the office work of the Holy Spirit and taught that through Him men might know that they were saved. Evangelism was the chief business of every preacher, whatever his position was, and special seasons of revival were characteristic of practically all churches. If we are honest in our confession we will admit that evangelism is not on the heart of the church as it once was. We do not wish to be misunderstood. The "Department" that is responsible for the evangelism of the church has been and is doing the best it can. The head of the department has given himself with commendable zeal and with the utmost devotion to the work. He is doubtless doing all that any

one could do in his position. However, it is an egregious mistake for the Methodist Episcopal Church to even seem to departmentalize evangelism. That is the work of the *whole* church and somehow it must get back upon the heart of the *whole* church. It cannot be done as long as we are required to think of it in terms of a department.

"Methodist ministers are in grave danger of losing their power of appeal." This was the criticism Gipsy Smith passed upon the Methodist preachers of America after one of his recent extended mission tours in this country.

Dr. Shailer Mathews asks: "How shall we preach this gospel of the risen Christ and of the eternal life?" and answers it as follows: "Above all else, positively, with a contagious conviction. A man will neither fear nor love a God under investigation.

"With the passion of moral physicians who know that sin is a deadly curse—not a term of the schoolman, and, up to the utmost limit of our convictions, with an emphasis upon both its experiential and its historical elements."[1]

The same author also affirms that, "The pulpit has partly abandoned attempts to arouse moral discontent in the human soul and has been giving prominence to congratulatory descriptions of men as the sons of God."[2] In so far as this criticism applies to Methodist preachers and preaching, we find an explanation of our lack of spiritual power.

The Missionary Sermon

An inside view of Methodism cannot fail to reveal the loss sustained by preachers and consequently by the church itself, by the large and liberal use made of special workers in presenting the claims of the various interests of the church. There are fewer special agents and representatives of the benevolent boards than there were a year or two ago, but there are still too many. It meant much to the preacher when he felt the responsibility for presenting the cause of foreign and home missions to his people. The preacher's study of those great questions inspired and warmed

[1] *The Church and the Changing Order*, p. 81.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

his own mind and heart, and the result was, large numbers of churches were famous for their missionary enthusiasm and interest. The missionary sermon does not have the prominent place in the preacher's plans it once had and the church thereby is poorer spiritually.

Vital Religious Life in the Home

No one will question the assertion that a godless home is a real menace to the country. Our national life and progress rest upon the home and family life of our people. Family prayers in the home as a regular custom is very largely a thing of the past and even Grace at meal-time is becoming more and more rare.

When parents read and expound the Bible as the Word of God to their children as a regular feature of family life there will be an immediate undergirding of the spiritual life of the entire church.

During one of the writer's pastorates, he organized what was called "The Hearthstone League," which proved to be of very great value to the spiritual life of the entire church. The "League" was very simple, consisting of those who pledged themselves to have daily family worship, Grace at every meal, and conversation at the dinner table regarding the spiritual needs of the Church. More than two hundred heads of families enrolled themselves as members of the "League" and during a revival season prayed daily for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon pastor and people. Nor were they disappointed, for one of the most genuine revivals that church ever experienced continued for nearly two months, during which time large numbers of people of all ages found Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour from sin and many more were strengthened and comforted in their faith. We attribute the success of that particular revival more largely to that praying band of devout church members than to any other one thing. God never disappoints a praying church. "They never sought the Lord in vain who sought the Lord aright."

Church Literature

There is imperative need of a "Tract Society" or some agency that will be given authority to create a literature that will be in-

expensive and that can be placed in the hands of the laity for general distribution. The publications by the Book Concern make their appeal chiefly to the clergy rather than to the laity. The Mormons, Christian Scientists, and many other religious propagandists make liberal and effective use of small bundles of tracts. One of the largest cities on the Pacific Coast is divided into forty districts and once in two weeks fresh supplies of literature, attractively printed, are systematically distributed by a certain religious body. The result is, large numbers of people are being received constantly as members of that organization.

If the Methodist Church would make available tract literature for free distribution, that would defend our doctrines and polity, we would have a more intelligent and a more loyal church. Furthermore, there are possibilities of a great spiritual movement in such an undertaking.

The Advocates of the Church have been a right arm of strength throughout all our history. It is our opinion, however, that the Advocates could give more attention to the more spiritual phases of our church life than they are now giving. Could there not be a plan adopted whereby our people may be given a better understanding of the doctrines and of the deeper spiritual needs of the church, whether by the Advocates, or by tract literature, or both? There is great need for re-emphasizing the fundamental doctrines of Methodism, if for nothing else than that our people may be able to defend themselves against modern substitutes for Christianity and a very subtle propaganda now being carried on through the printed page by various religious extremists.

Our Educational Institutions

During the past decade our Methodist people have proven their faith in Christian education by the immense sums they have subscribed for the endowment and equipment of our educational institutions. The growth and development of our colleges and universities is one of the striking evidences not only of the wealth our people possess, but of their vital concern for the perpetuation of Christian education. The very bigness of some of our educational institutions and the significant place they occupy in the

educational world is gratifying, indeed, but it is possible our success in this line may also be our embarrassment. The Methodist Church is one of the broadest and one of the most liberal in the world and is in full sympathy with reverent scholarship and seeks to encourage all who are really seekers after truth. We must, however, as a church insist upon it that those who are to become teachers in our Methodist schools must not be destructive of the ideals and teachings for which Methodism stands.

We hear it again and again that the faith of our young people is unsettled and sometimes utterly destroyed by reason of the *attitude* taken by some teachers and professors regarding the Bible, the divinity of Christ, the virgin birth, and the physical resurrection of our Lord. For one, I cannot see why men and women who are rationalists in their teachings and who apparently have little regard for historic Christianity should be retained in the faculties of Methodist schools and universities. We would not desire to curb scholarship, nor to prevent people from the largest possible exercise of freedom in pursuance of knowledge and truth. Nevertheless, the church has a right to demand that the institutions that are supported by Methodist money shall by all means reinforce the church in teaching and doctrine and undergird the faith of her young people.

The Conference Course of Study

This whole question merits the best thought of our ablest and most loyal leaders. Although comparatively few of the total number of men entering our ministry are graduates of our theological schools, the influence of these schools is very far-reaching and the service they are rendering is of inestimable value. Nevertheless, we venture this statement that the Conference Course of Study has more to do with influencing the ministry of our church and with determining the character of our preaching and service, than all our theological schools combined. This becomes all the more plain when it is understood that the Commission on Conference Course of Study is giving increasing emphasis to the fact that the Conference Course of Study is to take on more and more the nature of a school. Hence the many summer schools of

theology throughout the country that are being conducted under the direction and advice of the very able secretary of the Commission on Conference Course of Study. The plan commends itself to every Methodist who desires a better trained ministry. This, however, makes it all the more important that the young men entering our ministry and who are unable to avail themselves of a theological education, should be properly guided and directed while they are in their undergraduate studies.

The General Conference of 1920 took the following action:

Discipline, ¶ 210, § 1. "There shall be a Permanent Commission on Course of Study, to be appointed as follows: Three Bishops, and three other Ministers, to be appointed by the Board of Bishops; three members from the faculties of the educational institutions of the Church, nominated by the Board of Education, to be appointed by the Board of Bishops, and the Book Editor, *ex officio*.

"2. The Commission shall prescribe the Courses of Study upon which those applying for Licence to preach, for Orders as Local Preachers, and for Reception on Trial, respectively, shall be examined; also a Course of Study for Local Preachers extending through four years; and a Conference Course of Study extending through four years to be pursued by those who have been received on Trial in the Annual Conference; *it being understood that only such books shall be prescribed as are in full and hearty accord with those doctrines and that outline of faith established in the constitution of the Church;* and that the Discipline, with some special emphasis upon the Articles of Religion, and the standard sermons of John Wesley, recognized as standards in American Methodism, shall be included in the Conference Course. It shall bring its recommendation as to the constitution of these courses and the texts to be used to the Board of Bishops for final approval. It may also provide a post-graduate course of Study for use in the Annual Conferences.

"3. This Commission shall cooperate in every possible manner with the Conference Board of Examiners, giving such assistance as may be desired in directing and aiding students in their study, in the matter of the plans and methods of examination, and in any other way that will help to make these courses an effective means of training."

It is evident that the General Conference intended by this legislation to do at least two things: First, to give to every candidate for our ministry as thorough preparation for his life work as possible, and second, that the books prescribed were to be "in full and hearty accord with those doctrines and that outline of faith established in the constitution of the Church." That is, the General Conference ordered that all those entering the ministry of the

Methodist Episcopal Church should be indoctrinated through their Conference courses of study by the use of such books as are "in full and hearty accord with the doctrines and Discipline of the Church."

Do the books in the prescribed course of study meet the requirements of the law as enacted by the last General Conference?

As one who voted for the present Conference Course of Study I unhesitatingly answer, there are some that do not. Like my colleagues, there were some books I had read and some I had not read. To have read all the books would have been a practical impossibility in the time allotted for that purpose. If the Bishops had had nothing else to do but read the books from the time they were announced to the time they were approved, their time would have been fully occupied in that one undertaking. It is doubtful if any bishop or any member of the commission not a bishop, had read all the books at the time they were approved. The writer speaks for himself alone when he says that the books he was unable to read, but which he approved, were recommended by the Commission as meeting the requirements of the law of the church. Concerning one of the books approved by the Bishops, the promise was given that certain objectionable sections would be re-written so as to conform to the order of the General Conference. We have recently read some of the books which we had not the time to read prior to the approval of the course, and we are prepared to say some of them are not in harmony with the law of the church.

Some of the writers whose books are now in the Course of Study give no place to the historic Christ—a truly supernatural, divine Christ, the Incarnate Son of God. The Virgin Birth of our Lord, his sinlessness, his resurrection as taught in the Scriptures, are either explained away or soft-pedalled.

In making the above statement regarding certain books in the present Conference Course of Study, we are not charging the members of the "Commission" with purposeful violation of the law of the church. The Bishops are as much to blame as the commission. We are of the opinion that some books found their way into the present Conference Course of Study because of certain defects in the law as it now stands. We refer to the pro-

vision for the appointment of the "Commission" and the brief time allowed for reviewing the books.

We, therefore, offer the following plan:

First, the appointment of the Commission shall be entirely in the hands of the Bishops.

Second, the Commission shall consist of not less than seven nor more than nine persons, three of whom shall be bishops.

Third, the appointment of this Commission shall be announced prior to the adjournment of the next General Conference.

Fourth, the Commission shall be instructed to present to the Board of Bishops, within the two years immediately following the adjournment of the General Conference, the entire list of books which they recommend for the Conference Course of Study.

Fifth, the Bishops shall be instructed to review the books nominated by the Commission, during the third and fourth years of the quadrennium; they shall be instructed to divide the Board of Bishops into groups of not less than three each, and the books nominated by the Commission shall then be assigned by the Board of Bishops to the various groups of Bishops in equal numbers, as far as that may be possible. When the various groups of bishops have reviewed the books assigned to them they shall report to the Board of Bishops their recommendations. The names of the bishops reviewing the books shall be published in the Advocates in order that the church may know who have been responsible for recommending the books of the course of study. As the recommendations are made to the Board of Bishops they shall be approved or disapproved by that body.

Sixth, if the bishops disapprove of any book, they shall have the authority to substitute a book agreed upon by the majority of the bishops present and voting.

Seventh, that the books of the Conference Course of Study shall be announced prior to the adjournment of the General Conference of 1928, which books shall constitute the course of study for the next ensuing quadrennium.

Eighth, the Commission on Conference Course of Study shall from time to time send to the Advocates of the church the titles of books which represent modern theological thought, in addition

to those that are in the approved course of study, and which it would be profitable for ministers to read. If there shall appear those books that are not in harmony with Methodist doctrine and teaching, it shall be so stated and as far as practicable the points of difference noted.

It is not the purpose of this paper to review the books; we are simply stating that the teaching contained in some of the books is definitely away from the vital elements of historic Christianity for which Methodism stands. If such books remain in the Conference Course of Study for any considerable time, it will not be long before the character of our ministry and preaching will no longer be characterized by an evangelistical, to say nothing of an evangelistic passion and appeal.

If the historical, risen Jesus is taken away, then the gospel in its original sense is also taken away.

Doctor R. Glover has well said: "He (Jesus) is constantly enlarging our idea of God, revealing great tracts of God unsuspected by us. God as interpretable in and through Jesus is unexhausted. Here lies the explanation of the new life that the church always shows, when it returns to the historical Jesus and takes him seriously. It involves his remaining; and his historicity is once more our foundation."[3]

Rationalism and practical materialism are doing their utmost to weaken and destroy historical Christianity. Methodism must set herself against these enemies of Christ. Jesus Christ, the risen Lord, is the only cure for the woe of the world. Not the moral Christ, or the practical Christ, or the social Christ, but the Christ of God who is the Saviour of men. When he is fairly presented to the world his claims will take care of themselves.

The church is in need of and the times demand a return to the study and teaching of theology. Francis G. Peabody has recently well said: "With the increasing complexity of social life, however, and its unprecedented calls for service, a great many ministers have practically abandoned thinking about theology. They have become men of affairs, church mechanics, or social workers, rather than theologians. They organize parishes, direct

[3] *Jesus in the Experience of Men*, p. 15.

multifarious activities, reform neighborhoods, and preach on social regeneration. Socialism, temperance, thrift, and public health, provide subjects for consideration in connection with worship. Administrative efficiency and moral sympathy are more cultivated than intellectual power and disciplined wisdom. The conduct of worship, the preparation of sermons, and the administration of public affairs leave scant margin of time or energy for serious study."[4]

And Bernard Shaw in an English review has said: "At present there are probably more people who feel that in Christ is the only hope of the world than there ever were before in the lifetime of men now living."

Mr. H. G. Wells in his famous *The Outline of History,* says: "Education is the preparation of the individual for the community, and his religious training is the core of that preparation. . . . Out of the trouble and tragedy of this present time there may emerge a moral and intellectual revival, a religious revival of a simplicity and scope to draw together men of alien races and now discrete traditions into one common and sustained way of living for the world's service. We cannot foretell the scope and power of such a revival. The beginnings of such things are never conspicuous. . . . Religious emotion—stripped of corruptions and freed from its last priestly entanglements—may presently blow through life again like a great wind, bursting the doors and flinging open the shutters of the individual life."[5]

From within the church comes just as insistent a demand for a return to the deeper and more fundamental things.

If the Methodist Episcopal Church for one quadrennium would give herself to a serious study of theology which of necessity would include a reemphasis upon those doctrines which as a church we regard as fundamental, the results would not only be gratifying but we would soon discover that we had gained higher ground in spiritual things.

[4] *Yale Review*, January, 1923, p. 322.
[5] *The Outline of History*, H. G. Wells, p. 1089.

SELF AND PERSON[1]

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ACCORDING to a time-honored view, deeply imbedded in the language both of common sense and philosophy, experience is bipolar in its constitution. It contains within itself the double aspect of knower and known, the experiencer and that which is experienced. On the one side we have the empirical self, the content or object side of consciousness, composed of the so-called states of consciousness like perceptions, memories, emotions and volitional experiences; on the other side, the subject, the transcendental self, as it is sometimes called, which is aware of these experiences, to whom these experiences in some sense belong. The structure of the empirical self is usually represented as discrete. As Hume expressed it in a well-known passage, it is "nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement." This view of the empirical self is of great historical importance, since it forms the presupposition of nearly all the discussions of the self since Hume's day. Writers have either regarded the self's contents as permanently discrete, with all the consequences which this view entails, or else have expended their efforts in devising something to provide the systematic connection within the self which was originally lacking, to weld, as it were, the sundered elements of experience into some kind of unity or whole.

The discussion since Hume's day has largely centered around the question of the so-called transcendental self, around the question whether the self as knower, in the shape of a permanent entity of some sort, other than any transitory process or content within the conscious stream itself, is scientifically defensible.

[1] The positions developed in this article are a restatement, in an abbreviated and simplified form, of the main parts of a chapter of a cooperative volume entitled *Philosophical Essays in Honor of James Edwin Creighton*, Macmillan, 1917. The reader would also find several passages bearing on the nature of the self and related questions in two books of mine, *The Problem of Religion*, Pilgrim Press, 1912, and *Henri Bergson: A Study in Radical Evolution*, Macmillan, 1914.

I shall set down, in what follows, with as much support as space permits, a few points which may prove useful in dealing with the self-problem.

It seems to me an untenable position, in the first place, to maintain that psychology is, or must be, presuppositionless, and that it cannot, as a science, admit the existence of any entities which do not come in the guise of presented facts, but are merely postulates suggested by these facts. If this is really the case, psychology stands alone among the sciences in this respect. The method of science, as of philosophy, it seems to me, must be experience and legitimate inference from experience; and I do not think it would be difficult to show that every psychologist, no matter to what tendency or school of psychology he belongs, recognizes and employs logical constructions of various types for which only the suggestions are contained in the empirical materials with which he works. The real, as Bosanquet somewhere says, is what we are obliged to think, and the knowledge of reality which science affords would be immeasurably impoverished if the logical and hypothetical elements it contains were eliminated from it. If the separate self, therefore, were clearly required by the facts of psychology, I do not see why the self should not be admitted for what it is: not as an experienced fact, as a datum on the same plane with Hume's "impressions," but as an explanatory principle without which the observed facts of consciousness would not be intelligible. Its justification would be pragmatic: it would be justified by its success in explaining characteristics of experience which would remain unintelligible without its assumption.

Nevertheless, it would be clearly needless to treat the permanent self as merely a logical construction, if it proved to be an empirical datum. That it is such a datum is asserted by Calkins, for example, according to whom the self is not only immediately known to exist, but is immediately experienced as "persistent, inclusive, unique, and related." Only as immediately experienced, she adds, have we a right to use these characteristics in describing consciousness.[2]

[2] Mary W. Calkins, *Journal of Philosophy*, vol. v, pp. 64–68. See also the same author's *A First Book in Psychology*, p. 3, and elsewhere.

It seems pertinent to inquire whether such characters as are here enumerated can be data of immediate experience at all. To the present writer it seems as improbable that these characters can be given in immediate experience as that Hume's bundle of perceptions should be a datum of immediate experience. The characteristics which Calkins ascribes to the self, as well as those which Hume ascribes to it, imply a knowledge of the self in its entirety; but the history of the self as a whole cannot possibly be an object of immediate experience. This is a fact which, when clearly recognized, is seen to invalidate either Hume's famous definition of the self, or else his theory that the only valid knowledge is that which originates in sense experience.

In other passages of Calkins' account, however, the term self does not seem clearly to stand for a separate self, or for a type of activity, as it does in Kant; it appears rather as a generic term, denoting a "complex of ideas, functions, experiences." How one is to reconcile the trait of inclusiveness, in the sense just defined, with the trait of uniqueness, as next described by Calkins, is not easy to see. When we "reflect upon" the self, "we may describe it as a consciousness of a this-which-could-not-be-replaced-by-another. Now we simply are not conscious of ideas and functions as, in this sense, unique. A given self, with a different idea, is still this self," etc. How a given self can gain and pay off ideas indefinitely and itself remain unperturbed and unaltered in its essence is perhaps a problem for those versed in the ways of the Absolute. That the self should be able to maintain a consciousness of self-identity after a partial alteration of its contents, owing to the loss of some elements and the acquisition of new ones, is, however, not in the least surprising, when one remembers the vast scope of the self's history and the comparative unimportance, therefore, of the changes wrought in it by any passing experience. The fact that the consciousness of self-identity does actually become uncertain when the changes in its experience are sufficiently radical and abrupt, or when they affect its more characteristic phases, as in the more serious perversions of bodily sensibility, is, I believe, not without significance for our problem. Whatever our decision on this may be, we are safe in asserting that a self which persisted

unchanged and unique in spite of its changing ideas, functions and experiences, if such a self indeed existed, could not possibly be an object of immediate experience. The self, whether regarded as a name for the life-history of the individual, or as an entity or function outside the stream of individual experience, is surely an ideal construction, a conceptual generalization of which the immediate experience forms merely the nucleus or core.

By self-consciousness, I conclude, we mean, or ought to mean, merely the felt togetherness, the continuity, of any present experience with the other constituents of the conscious stream. Interpreted in this sense, James' assertion of selfhood possesses absolute validity. "It seems as if the elementary psychic fact is not thought or this thought or that thought, but my thought, every thought being owned. . . . Everyone will recognize this to be true, so long as the existence of something corresponding to the term 'personal mind' is all that is insisted on, without any particular view of its nature being implied. On these terms the personal self rather than the thought might be treated as the immediate datum of psychology. . . . Thoughts connected as we feel them to be connected is what we mean by personal selves."[3]

Of the existence of the self, thus interpreted, there cannot of course be the slightest doubt. In the writer's own introspection, the focal elements of consciousness are merely emphasized phases of a more or less distinct background of marginal experiences, of which the feeling of the body is by far the most frequently recurring constant feature, although this may for considerable periods be distinctly dimmed, or entirely disappear. In addition, there is a large field of other marginal constituents, of which the ideal associations and meanings clustering around the more dense-appearing perceptual and imaginal structures form ever-present, though constantly shifting, features. In the empirical sense here explained, consciousness and self-consciousness, indeed, turn out to be indistinguishable terms. They are as correlative as perception and apperception, foreground and background, focus and margin. Our answer, then, to the question what the self is, would be that it is a name for the sum total of the experiences of the

[3] *Psychology, Briefer Course*, p. 153.

individual felt or reflectively conceived as forming in some sense a whole or a system; it is the stream of consciousness itself, viewed as coherent and continuous. Paulsen's view of the self is analogous: it is the plurality of psychical experiences comprehended into a unity in a manner not further definable.

It is the recognition of the continuity and coherence of mental states, just referred to, however, that offers the self-psychologist of the traditional Kantian type the cue for his crowning argument. The native stuff of consciousness, it is said (with what warrant does not always appear), is a chaotic manifold. Now it is the function of the self to remove the heterogeneity, to overcome the discreteness, which primordial experience presents. This is indeed the fundamental view of Kant, according to whom the *Durcheinander,* the natural chaos of sense experience, is ordered and organized through the synthetic activity of intelligence. "Die Verbindung eines Mannigfaltigen," he wrote, "kann überhaupt niemals durch die Sinne in uns kommen. . . . Alle Verbindung ist eine Verstandeshandlung." What is true of the raw material of sense is true of ideas as well. Each idea, too, is distinct from every other, and the recognition of relations, of whatever type, among ideas implies the self as a relating principle or agent. This view, thoroughly familiar to English philosophy mainly through the work of T. H. Green and his followers, is typically expressed in a passage of Lotze's *Metaphysic:*

> "Any comparison of two ideas, which ends by our finding their contents like or unlike, presupposes the absolutely indivisible unity of that which compares them; it must be one and same thing which first forms the idea of *a*, then that of *b*, and which at the same time is conscious of the nature and extent of the difference between them. . . . And so our whole inner world of thoughts is built up; not as a mere collection of manifold ideas existing with or after one another, but as a world in which these individual members are held together and arranged by the relating activity of this single pervading principle. This then is what we mean by the unity of consciousness; and it is this that we regard as the sufficient ground for assuming an indivisible soul."[4]

Without delaying to discuss the now partly obsolete conception of Kant, that primitive experience consists of isolated, un-

[4] English tr., vol. II, pp. 170ff.

compounded elements which are united into a whole by a subsequent process of synthesis, it is perhaps sufficient to point out that, in order for relations between different contents to appear, it is only necessary that these contents should be assembled into larger units of consciousness in which the contents in question, together with the relations appearing between them, will be comprehended. If the objection is raised that the formation of such larger units would not provide for the permanence of the self, the reply is that this does not necessarily follow, and that the objection is in any event irrelevant, since the permanence of the self is one of the questions at issue. The permanence of the self, argued from its synthetic function, would under any view be no greater than the range of objects which it synthesizes; that is, it would be finite and variable. A similar statement would apply to the unity of the self asserted to be implied by its unifying function. Here too the reply is that its unity would be merely as great as, but no greater than, the unity of its objects. But its objects always fail of being perfectly systematic. The finite self's world (whatever may be said of the Absolute's) is always in part incoherent.

If, then, the question is asked, Who is the knower? What is it that apprehends relations between the parts of a manifold? perhaps the best reply that can be given is in the traditional terms: It is the mind or the self. Only by the self is not now meant some non-empirical principle, forever identical with itself, existing over and above the stream of consciousness, but it is the concrete stream of consciousness itself. Not only is the self thus understood the knower; it is the agent in every other mental operation as well. The self, as Pillsbury has well put it, "is all that we are and know, organized, self-unified, and self-identical, a growing vital unity that as a whole is effective in every experience. When it is directed toward the control of action, we know it as will, when choosing from the many stimuli that offer, as attention; when interpreting the stimulus, as perception or judgment; when constructing new forms from old experiences, as reason. But it is the same everywhere, always active, and active in very much the same way in every kind of mental process."[5]

[5] *Philosophical Review*, XVI, p. 406.

That such an empirical knower as here suggested is incomparably preferable, theoretically, to the hypothetical self of traditional metaphysics goes without saying, since the problem of explaining how the synthesis of a manifold is effected is by no means lightened, but only aggravated, by invoking a unitary substance placed outside the stream of consciousness, and hence beyond the reach of empirical verification. "The idea of a self or ego," as Mr. Bradley well says, "joining together from the outside the atomic elements, and fastening them together in some miraculous way, not involved in their own nature, is quite indefensible. It would be the addition of one more discrete to the former chaos of discretes, and it would still leave them all discrete. The idea of anything being made wholly from the outside into something else . . . seems in short irrational."[6]

Whether the stream of consciousness is capable of bearing the burden placed upon it is a question which cannot be answered by mere assertion, but only by actually demonstrating this possibility in connection with the various mental functions in turn. The illustrations of the success of psychology in the explanation of the mind's various functions without the hypothesis of the traditional self are found in abundance in every modern psychology textbook. Not only in the literal reinstatements of memory, where the past history of the individual's consciousness is of course of prime importance, but in the more selective functions of attention, perception, association, conception, reasoning, emotion and action, the controlling influence of experience as a whole is being demonstrated with a constantly increasing completeness and detail. Mental functions formerly assigned to set of mythical faculties or to a discarnate soul are seen to be the activities or effects of systems of earlier experience which project themselves into the present, determining the further developments of experience at every step. The completion of this work of retrospective explanation must, of course, be viewed as a scientific aspiration rather than a possible achievement. Nor can the assertion of Pillsbury, that no part of past experience is ever lost or is without determining influence upon present consciousness and behavior, be viewed as more

[6] *Mind*, N. S., Vol. IX, p. 37.

than an hypothesis, the full truth of which lies beyond the possibility of scientific determination.

A type of explanation of the self's unity to which prominence has often been given is by reference to the existence within the self of characteristic interests and purposes which remain relatively constant through the various mutations which the self otherwise undergoes. According to this view, the unity of the self is a teleological unity, like that of a drama or a game of skill, a unity imparted to it by an underlying plan, aim or interest which the self is striving to realize or fulfill. The two types of explanation, although appearing at first sight to involve different principles, are related to each other as causal and teleological explanation in general. They are hence not contradictory but supplementary.

Also, it must be recognized that, owing to the feeble operation of the conative tendencies represented by the self's current aims and interests, the organization and integration of the inner life, effected by this means, remains always imperfect, to say nothing of the fluctuations of the interests and ideals themselves, incident to maturation and decline, and to the various crises to which the inner life is always exposed. Not only is there at any given time a more or less distinct stratification of the self into systems of different and mutually more or less incompatible interests and aims, but the history of any life is often little more than a succession of different groups of interests and aims, each of which arises only to dissolve and give way to its successors. It may thus easily happen that two stages of a man's life, removed from each by a period of time, resemble each other less than two parallel stages of different men's lives, so that individual identity would here evidently be little more than a name. The actually verifiable identity of the self, we conclude, no matter from what view it is regarded, is a partial and variable, not an absolute, quantity, which belongs to it in its own right.

A word might be said in conclusion about the bearing of the ideas expressed in the foregoing on the question of the survival of the self after the death of the body, upon the relation to which, as we have seen, its self-identity partly depends. But I do not wish to go into the question at length here, since I have discussed

it somewhat fully elsewhere,[7] beyond the statement that the self's survival, in so far as it does survive the body, will probably depend upon the extent to which it has achieved unity of life through the consistent pursuit of some aim, interest or plan, and upon the degree to which this aim, interest or plan coincides with the fundamental plan of the universe in which the self is to exist. Even this belief, it is seen, implies a conception of the universe which must probably be viewed as an object of faith and hope, rather than of logical demonstration. Nothing finer has been said upon this topic than by Lotze: We have no other principle for deciding the probability of immortality "beyond this general idealistic conviction, that every created thing will continue, if and so long as its continuance belongs to the meaning of the world; that everything will pass away which had its authorized place only in a transitory phase of the world's course. That this principle admits of no further application in human hands needs hardly to be mentioned. We certainly do not know the merits which may give to one existence a claim to eternity, nor the defects which deny it to others."[8]

The terms self and person are often used in an identical sense. The latter, however, is more properly used as an ethical or legal term, implying moral relation. The fuller discussion of this I hope to undertake in a later paper.[9]

[7] *The Problem of Religion*, Ch. VI, and *Henri Bergson*, Ch. XVI.

[8] *Metaphysic*, II, p. 182.

[9] An excellent discussion of the ethical implications of personality will be found in A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, Bk. IV, Ch. III.

THE RELATION OF THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY TO RELIGION

MARION HILLER DUNSMORE[1]

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

UNTIL recent years psychology was considered to be a part of the department of philosophy, having little in common with the sciences. But of late years it has broken away from its philosophical relationship and has taken its place among the sciences, adopting their methods and procedures. With all the arrogance of a youth suddenly released from strict parental oversight and care, pyschology has cast aside the old ways and eagerly taken up the methods of the other "youths" among whom it finds itself, adopting their questioning, critical, skeptical attitude (which they, however, are to some measure outgrowing) toward all things which do not fall within the scope of their field and method.

An older definition of psychology defines it as "that branch of philosophy which has for its subject the human mind (or soul), its nature, properties, and operations." And an even later definition, recognizing its scientific character, defines it as "the science of the mind." But the new psychology, which prides itself on being very scientific, maintains that the mind is not an observed fact, and it does not want to imply that the mind is something which exists for itself, and so it prefers to define psychology as "the science which studies the behavior of living organisms." Behavior is something which can be observed and experimented with, and so the study of it may be purely scientific. Thinking may be regarded as change within the living organism, subject to chemical and physiological laws.

But it is perhaps impossible to give an adequate definition of the new psychology. The subject is still too new for a comprehensive definition. There are a number of prominent tendencies in the new psychology which as yet have not been properly coordinated, and the advocates of the various tendencies are apt to look

[1] Assisted by Miss L. M. Grebe and E. O. Pearman.

upon their own particular tendency as the whole of the new psychology. Foremost among the tendencies are behaviorism, the instinct psychology, psycho-analysis, and the psychology of the crowd. Of some of these we will speak more at length later.

The New Psychology and Religion

It is of the utmost importance that we recognize the limits of the new psychology. The new psychology is not a philosophy, having broken away entirely from its former relationship. It is a science. It deals with the facts obtained from observation and experiment, not with ideals and purposes. For the new psychology a belief in the soul or in God is neither true nor false—it is simply a mental fact to be explained by the operation of mental laws, just as is any other belief. "Psychology," says Professor Drever, "knows only cause and effect; it has nothing to do with ideals, values, purposes, and ends, except as mere facts of the mental life. Philosophy is an attempt to get at the deeper reality of things. The significance of human life, the nature of the soul, human destiny, immortality, God—these present problems for philosophy, not for psychology. It is probably true that the conclusions we arrive at in psychology may have an important bearing on our solution of some philosophical problems, but that is all we can say."[2]

Thus psychology and religion are two separate fields, dealing with different sets of facts and using different methods. True psychology and religion are not mutually exclusive, nor are they opposed to each other. Just as in the great realm of science (of which psychology is a part) there can be no conflict between true religion and true science, so also here there can be no conflict. But we must admit that psychology and religion come into closer relationship than do religion and chemistry, for example, for both are extremely interested in human beings.

The New Psychologists and Religion

Were the new psychologists simply to confine themselves to their own field, and ignore religion as not belonging to them as

[2] Drever: *The Psychology of Everyday Life*. 2d. ed., p. 9.

psychologists, a better relation would exist between the two. But many of them are not willing to do so. They have attempted to remove the boundary stones which mark off their province and tried to bring another realm under their jurisdiction, attempting to govern it by laws by which it could not be governed. And in their failure to govern it they have summoned their forces against it and have attempted to do away with it. Thus, just as in the so-called war between science and religion, the hostility was between scientists and theologians, so also the trouble to-day is not between psychology and religion, but with certain psychologists who have limited vision. They are not willing to speak with authority merely in their own field. They attempt to speak authoritatively in the realm of religion, in which they are not qualified to speak. The great need is for psychologists to recognize the limitations of their subject. We do not mean to imply that psychologists should have nothing to do with religion, but that real religion as such is not the field of the psychologists, who, outside their professional work, may enter heartily into the realm of religion, and should do so. But they need to recognize that religion is just as real and just as true as is psychology, but that it is not psychology.

The New Psychology and Man

"The psychological man of the new psychology," to use the expression of Professor John Wright Buckham, "is a near animal." Behaviorism, for example, places man practically on a level with the animals. He is a living organism who reacts in certain ways to his environment. In response to certain stimuli, certain muscular and glandular changes take place. Thus it attempts to explain man in terms of behavior, or reaction to environment. This is practically all that it sees in man. It makes little or no place for consciousness, thought, volition, or motive. Without these things man is indeed little better than an animal.

Now if the behavioristic psychologists should say, "We are going to confine ourselves to that small section of the study of man—his physical reaction to environment, or his animal behavior, and leave the other large and just as important fields to others," then we would find little objection. But many of them

are not willing to do so. They want to make *their* little field the whole realm—they build a wall around it and shut themselves and their followers in, and say, "This is the whole universe of man."

While the soul and God are not the subject of psychology, psychologists need to remember that these *are* facts in another realm, and if they are to be true scientists they must recognize the existence of these facts. So when a professor of psychology tells his students to "check their souls at the door" as they come to his class, or to forget they have souls, and then goes ahead to explain the whole nature and activity of man on the basis of animal behavior, or instincts, ignoring and virtually denying his spiritual nature, he is untrue to the Truth, to his office as a scientist, and to his moral and religious duty.

Psycho-Analysis and Religion

When we turn to psycho-analysis we do not find as strong a tendency to ignore or deny the validity and reality of religion as we do in behaviorism, for example. Of course there are psycho-analysts who leave religion out of account, but there is a growing tendency among them to attempt to find a place for religion in their subject. We cannot enter into a discussion of psycho-analysis here, but will confine ourselves to its relation to religion. As to its character, suffice it to say that it over-estimates the importance of the subconscious, that it over-emphasizes the sex instinct, and that its determinism makes little or no place for either a human or divine will.

Many psycho-analysts claim that religion need fear nothing from psycho-analysis. Pfister says: "While psycho-analysis may disclose the emptiness of religious errors, it is helpful to a healthy piety which increases moral strength. To me it is a mystery how anxious souls can fear damage to religion and morality from psycho-analysis. How closely the results of the latter stand to the commands of the Gospel is easily demonstrated."[3]

Swisher in his *Religion and the New Psychology* (and by the "new psychology" he means psycho-analysis) says, "No danger

[3] Pfister: *Psycho-analytic Method*, p. 414.

to religion is to be feared from psycho-analysis."[4] Yet let us note a few examples of his explanations of religion. The whole religious problem, he says, is specifically a problem of relationship —the relation of the ego to its environment—and its solution "is the perfect adjustment of the ego to its environment, the immediate environment, and the cosmos."[5] And he goes on to say that the establishment of this harmonious relationship is the beginning and end of all religion.

Let us examine more specifically some of his statements of the relationship between religion and psycho-analysis:

"Since the sex-instinct is the strongest of all instincts . . . it is expected that religion should be full of idealized sex emotion. . . . It is extremely likely that all religion has a phallic origin. . . . Primitive religion reeks with phallic symbolism. Modern religion retains imagery and refines the symbol. . . . Religion is primarily emotional and therefore is, in the broadest sense, of sex origin. There is the rationalistic side of religion, but this makes no appeal to people in general. This aspect of religion is well left to the philosopher and the theologian. The validity of religion for the regeneration of human life lies not in its power to convince, not in the cold-blooded and logical statement of dogma in which the inquirer is urged to believe; it does not lie at all in the field of rationalized belief, but in the great emotional upheavals of conversion and the reverence for the Divine engendered through the use of the universal symbol."[6]

Here is his summary of Christianity:

"First, a Jesus seeking to free men from the evil restrictions and vicious repressions of Pharisaic, formalistic religion; then a Paul, with a heavy neurotic taint, restoring the Pharisaic mode of life and imposing new restrictions even while he sought to preach the freedom of the Christian gospel; then, a whole people with face averted from the present, where their work and their life-interests lay, and turned toward the Heavenly City, through whose portals they hoped soon to pass; finally, this neurotic, unnatural, morbid ideal pursuing generation after generation even down to the present day."[7]

Surely this is an inadequate and unsatisfactory explanation of religion and of Christianity. The trouble is that psycho-analysts have mistaken certain minor factors for religion, and while these factors may have had an influence upon religious beliefs and practices, yet they are not the whole of religion. Their explanation

[4] P. 126. [5] P. 2. [6] P. 17ff. [7] P. 39f.

overlooks the real essentials of religion. So the real trouble is again the failure of psycho-analysts to recognize the limitations of their subject. While they may be able to explain some things in religion, yet they cannot explain religion itself. But the sad part of it is that the countless throng who are embracing psycho-analysis do not see these limitations and so accept the proffered explanations as final.

On the other hand there are some religious possibilities in psycho-analysis. The best thing in it is the doctrine of sublimation—the using of surplus energy of an instinct (in psycho-analysis usually the sex instinct) in substitute activities. And yet this is not a new discovery on the part of psycho-analysis. It has always been a fundamental of Christian teaching.

Psychotherapy and Religion

Until recent years the miracles of healing recorded in the Gospels, and the various healings performed by Christians of succeeding ages have been regarded as proofs of the truth of Christianity. To-day, modern psychology explains these largely as due to the normal working of mental laws which we are only beginning to understand. Cures are being wrought by mental healers entirely apart from religious connections. Consequently, that which was long considered to belong to the sacred domain of religion has been taken away and put into the scientific laboratory. Thus those who are unfriendly toward religion claim to find here evidence against the truth of religion, since that which was deemed peculiar to religion can now be explained on a naturalistic basis.

On the other hand, in the religious world we find a great revival of interest in healing. Many sects are current to-day who make healing a cornerstone of their faith. Many of them claim to be able to heal any disease, provided the patient has sufficient faith, although others do not make such sweeping claims. The Christian church as a whole has long neglected the ministry of healing, and this is the main cause of the recent rise of so many healing sects. Now with the appearance of non-religious psychotherapists religion should take a survey to determine its attitude toward this newly discovered, yet old, old practice of healing.

Religion must face the fact that just as important cures have been effected apart from religious connections as any of those which have been performed in its name. It must recognize the further fact that modern psychology is discovering psychical laws by means of which these cures take place. Should religion then give up healing as no longer belonging to itself, and transfer it to the field of psychology? We must answer, No. Religion has already too much neglected the ministry of healing. True religion is interested in the whole man—his physical as well as his spiritual nature. Therefore religion needs to lay hold on the findings of the investigations concerning healing, and with renewed energy and an intelligent procedure go forth to this Christian service.

But both psychology and religion need to be conscious of certain limitations. They cannot expect to cure all diseases. Diseases in the main are of two kinds, those which are organic, and those which are mental. (We should perhaps add a third, those which are both.) Organic disease is the province of the physician and surgeon, and the cure of such should be left to competent medical care. This is a fact which Christian Science and many other sects overlook. Of course the right mental attitude has much to do in the recovery from such disease, for the influence of the mind over the body is great, and so religion may have an important part here. But it must not claim to effect cures in these cases.

It is in the field of mental disease, or disease that is in the mind, that psychotherapy and religion have their real work. It is surprising what a large percentage of the ills of mankind are in the mind, and not in the body, although they are seemingly in the body. If, then, in these cases the mental condition can be righted, the disease disappears and the body enjoys health. Now to put the mind in the right condition a certain something is needed, which is commonly called *faith*, and religion furnishes this. While cures have been effected apart from religion, the majority of people feel the need of this dynamic, this faith, which religion offers. One psychotherapist writes:

"Speaking as a student of psychotherapy, who, as such, has no concern with theology, I am convinced that the Christian religion is one of the most valuable and potent influences that we possess for producing

that harmony and peace of mind and that confidence of soul which is needed to bring health and power to a large proportion of nervous patients. In some cases I have attempted to cure nervous patients with suggestions of quietness and confidence, but without success, until I have linked these suggestions on to that faith in the power of God which is the substance of the Christian's confidence and hope. Then the patient has become strong."[8]

In addition, religion has a great preventive function. It is able to keep the mind in a condition which will aid in warding off disease. So it has both a preventive and a curative value. We as Christians, both for the good of religion and of psychology, and for the sake of human beings should intelligently use the laws of mental healing. But we must bear in mind its limitations.

The Psychology of Religion

In recent years a new department of psychology has developed —that of the psychology of religion—and its field is the study of phenomena connected with religious experiences. As such it has a legitimate place, for we need to have a better understanding of such phenomena. There has been so much of the abnormal and emotional connected with religious experiences that we need a better understanding of them that we may better know how to guide people into a normal Christian life.

But we need to be cognizant of the limitations of the psychology of religion. It cannot properly deal with the beliefs of religion, with the idea of a soul or of God, and cannot demonstrate the truth or falsity of these religious ideas. Its function is to investigate, describe, and interpret the phenomena of religious experience. As such it has an important relation to religion.

On the other hand, the psychology of religion may be used by those who are not friendly to religion as evidence against the reality of religion. Because some of the phenomena can be understood psychologically, they claim that psychology can explain all religion as emotionalism, autosuggestion, etc. The real danger from psychology lies in the fact that among peoples who do not think deeply, psychology can be used to prove or disprove things concerning which psychologists are not really qualified to speak.

[8] Hadfield: *The Spirit*, p. 113.

The Effect of the New Psychology Upon Religion

Has the effect of the new psychology upon religion been beneficial or detrimental? We should probably answer, Both. We are faced with the fact that it has caused many to become indifferent to or ignore religion as something without value. It has caused much anguish of soul to many who have been led to believe that they have no soul. It has led many to believe that all religious experience can be explained on a psychological basis, thus seeming to do away with the reality of religion.

But the new psychology has done much to arouse religion from the contented lethargy of its dogmatic beliefs, and made it less sure of its dogmas. It has caused a new interpretation of religion in the light of present knowledge, thus aiding religion to better meet the needs of to-day. It is causing religion to make sure of its foundations, and of its truth and value. In this way it is helping to give religion a firmer basis, and is helping to interpret religion for the present generation in terms of to-day.

When the proper relations of psychology and religion are understood, and their respective limitations recognized, they will be found to be mutually helpful, instead of antagonistic.

The Challenge of the New Psychology to Religion

The new psychology presents a definite challenge to religion. Religion must show that there is more to man than psychology attributes to him. He is more than an animal. He has in addition a spiritual nature. And it is with this spiritual nature, and the spiritual realm of which it is a part, that religion has primarily to do. There are facts in this realm which are just as true and just as real as any in the natural realm. Religion must insist upon its right to claim recognition for this view. In this time, when the natural looms so large, it is imperative that religion shall not permit the validity of the spiritual to be ignored.

There is much of value in the new psychology for religion. Consequently those interested in religion need to know the new psychology and need to be ready to use whatever of value it offers. But since there is such a tendency among the new psychologists

to deny the validity of religion, there is need for us to be on the alert to uphold the truth and reality of religion, and its undisputed right to a place of great importance.

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Personality As the Meeting Place of Psychology and Religion

We have spoken earlier of the line of separation between psychology and religion, and yet it is not always easy to know just where to draw the line, for in spite of their dissimilarity they do have much in common, dealing as they both do with human beings. We have also seen that at the present time each, in a large measure, distrusts the other. What we need is a common meeting place for the two. A recognition of human beings as *persons* or *potential persons* will furnish this. By *person* and *personality* we do not mean what psychologists frequently mean by the use of these terms. Rather, by a *person* we mean a self-conscious, self-directive, self-expressive human being who has a consciousness of moral responsibility and worth. As soon as the psychologist recognizes an individual as such a *person* he must necessarily recognize a twofold nature in man—the natural and the spiritual. He will then say, "The former is my field, and I will limit myself to that, but I will not be blind to the fact that there is another realm into which I may not enter with my methods of investigation, but which I know is no less real than mine."

It is this belief in personality with its emphasis upon worth and reverence and altruism which furnishes the basis of religion, and Christianity is preeminently the religion of personality. A general recognition of this Christian belief in personality would greatly aid in the solution of the problem of the seeming conflict between the new psychology and religion.

SOME RELATIONS BETWEEN CURRENT SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS THINKING

A Layman's Analysis

(*Concluded from last issue*)

III. SOME RELATIONS BETWEEN GOD AND THE WORLD

A thoroughgoing application of the principles which we have so far considered would be a task for Spirit-guided hosts through decades or generations; yet we can, perhaps, indicate the method of approach to certain fundamental matters. Take first the relations of God and the world. Our fathers and grandfathers thought of God as relatively apart from the world. Nature was considered as practically automatic with certain inherent, though of course God-given, powers enabling it to do certain things. Whatever happened with a regular uniformity capable of being formulated as a "law" was thought of as belonging to nature. Unexplained, and presumably unexplainable, variations from those uniformities were regarded as belonging in a peculiar sense to divine activity. In this field of the exceptional and unexplained was found the conclusive evidence for the being and activity of God. This was the field of the supernatural as distinguished from the natural.

All went smoothly as long as there was little transference from the field of the unexplained to that of the explained, but with the scientific advance of the last century more and more were phenomena, previously unexplained, brought under formulated law. Both those who were and those who were not in sympathy with the religious view of the world assumed that this process in some way pushed God into the background, until unbelievers began to boast and believers to fear that the world might be shown to be practically independent of "divine interpositions." This tension occasioned much of the "warfare between science and religion," and it led to a *reductio ad absurdum* that has greatly cleared the air. Christian people have come to realize that uni-

form activity is no less divine than is spasmodic—that if we are to recognize God at all, we must realize that His relations with the world are of the most vital and intimate sort. If we admit that "nature" and "law" are independent forces that of themselves can *do* anything at all, we yield to the enemy most important outworks if not the citadel itself. All this is related to the view of the world as an interrelated on-going process, which we have seen in connection with the prevalence of the historical and comparative methods.

Yet here, as all along the line, the results will differ most widely in accordance with the strictly religious experience and assumptions of the thinker. The old contrast between the natural and the supernatural has largely lost its meaning. In this situation the man with materialistic bias sees only promise of the time when all will recognize the adequacy of purely physical forces to account for all reality. He who recognizes personal spirit at the heart of reality has a new and inspiring sense of the pervading presence of God. With Hebrew psalmists and prophets he hears the very voice of God in the thunder. In a new sense he realizes that he dwells in his Father's house. Whatever trials of faith he finds in the destructive forces of nature, those difficulties would be present with any theistic view. At any rate, the Christian thinker is coming to be emancipated from any dread of the effect of scientific discoveries upon his fundamental religious beliefs. Scientific discoveries can only make clearer the habitual methods of his Father's working. He sees that all truth is God's truth, and with open mind and untroubled spirit he welcomes all that science can offer. Only he insists that science limit itself to its proper domain, the phenomenal. When scientists indulge in speculations regarding ultimates, he recognizes that they are invading the domains of metaphysics and theology, where, as scientists, they have no patent. He equally refuses to allow the metaphysician or theologian to dictate to the scientist regarding the phenomenal.

If the modern Christian thinker finds the old boundaries between the natural and the supernatural fading away, there is a distinction upon which he emphatically insists, that between the

personal and the sub-personal, here radically differing from the man with materialistic or mechanistic bias. He challenges any assumption that the uniformities observed in the lower sphere must apply to the higher, or that the higher is to be exhaustively explained in terms of the lower, although he is ready to accept any proven coincidences in the two spheres. He plants himself confidently upon the assumption of the priority and supremacy of free spirit. He holds to the free personality of God and man. If ordinarily God sees fit on the physical plane to act in accordance with certain conformities, the Christian thinker recognizes no necessity that he shall always thus act. He therefore has no *a priori* objection to miracle. And if "natural law" is not necessarily absolute on the physical plane, much less can it claim to dominate in the world of the relationships of free spirits.

But the mechanistic view is not the only rival of what we have called the modern Christian view of the world. Less obvious but all the more important is the distinction between a truly theistic view of the divine immanence and those views that are essentially pantheistic. The views are alike in recognizing the spiritual rather than the mechanical or material as the ultimate reality; both attribute to the same ultimate force what has and what has not been arranged under so-called "laws"; both regard the world as the garment that at once conceals and reveals the Deity. But in all pantheistic systems the Deity is submerged in the universe. He is not a self-conscious being who deliberately manifests himself in the visible world. He is but another name for the totality of the world process. He does not foresee, much less ordain, the end from the beginning, but his own life blindly unfolds with the unfolding of the life of the world. He does not purposefully direct the world process so as to beget and train spiritual sons in his image, capable of fellowship with himself, but he first emerges into consciousness in the consciousness of his finite creatures—in the self-consciousness of man the Infinite first lifts his head above the surface of the vast dim sea of his being.

It is obvious that no such "spirit" possesses true personality. In fact, if the totality of being be thought of as one vast unconscious process moving forward in accordance with its own latent laws,

there is little difference whether the label "spirit" or "energy" be applied to it. The Christian feels that such a conception furnishes no ground for the religious experience as he knows it, even if a John Burroughs may find a sort of religious experience in docilely "accepting the universe" as a beneficent system. No, the Christian experience requires true personality in its Deity; that is, the Christian must think of his God as possessing those attributes of self-consciousness, affection, and will that he recognizes as essential in his own personality. He maintains that such a view is on purely rational grounds more satisfying than its rival, that it rests upon ground absolutely impregnable to any attack from the scientific side, and that it is ultimately essential to any consistent view of free human personality and consequently of human moral responsibility. But to discuss these claims in detail would take us too far afield.

The Christian should not be afraid of the charge of "anthropomorphism," even if his opponent prefixes the disparaging epithet "crude." He recognizes that there is a "crude anthropomorphism," whereby immature minds attribute to God the physical members and mental limitations of men, but he understands that there is also the spiritual anthropomorphism of Browning's Saul and of Jesus himself that supplies man's least inadequate symbol for approaching the idea of divinity.

Few, if any, topics have in recent times occasioned such fierce religious controversies as evolution, a topic closely connected with the relations of God and the world. The term is used very loosely both by the advocates and the opponents of the doctrine. Sometimes it refers to matters of fact—what, in view of all the available evidence, should we believe as to the biological history of our globe, as to the length of that history, as to the order of succession in the appearance of the various species, as to the probability of descent between the various species, and as to ascertainable physical causes contributing to the process? These are all matters of objective phenomena and fall within the proper domain of science. As we have seen above, it should be possible to decide such questions of fact without affecting one's ultimate philosophical or religious convictions. On the other hand, "evolution" is sometimes,

by friends and foes alike, used to designate a fundamental world philosophy. It seems to be somehow regarded as an independent force that does things, a sort of deity rendering the Almighty superfluous and ensuring steady and unending improvement in every department in human as well as in subhuman life. It thus served as a support for the comfortable, easy-going optimism that received such a sad jolt from the Great War and some of its sequels. Such assumptions we have seen to be outside the domain of science and in a domain where they may quite possibly come into conflict with fundamental religious beliefs. These two aspects of evolution should constantly be distinguished from each other. Failure to make this distinction is responsible for endless misunderstandings and confusion.

That the Christian thinker has reason to be hostile to evolution as a philosophy of ultimates is obvious. It sets up what is practically a rival divinity. It may involve the fallacy of transforming an observed method into an independent force, and is usually an aspect of the mechanistic view of the world.

Evolution as a term descriptive of phenomena is itself variously used. It may refer to the conviction that the various biological species have appeared in time by a process of descent; it may refer more specifically to Darwin's explanation of the origin of species by the survival of favorable fortuitous variations; or the user of the term may have primarily in mind the claim that man has come from a lower animal ancestry. The objection felt by many conservative religious people to these forms of the doctrine seems to have several sources. To repeat, much of it comes from the failure to distinguish between recognizing upon evidence a phenomenal process, and on the other hand accepting an ultimate explanation; and is related to the opposition shown to the bringing under "law" of a very great body of phenomena previously "unexplained." A similar objection is the feeling that the evolutionary explanation is inconsistent with the Genesis account of creation. Probably the most essentially and intelligently religious objection arises from the feeling that descent from lower animal forms is inconsistent with the spiritual dignity of man as a potential child of God.

A general aversion to the extension of the bounds of classified knowledge is of course unworthy. A confusion of process with ultimate ground should be unnecessary. If one hold to interpretations of Scripture that seem to be inconsistent with established facts, there remains the possibility that those interpretations should be revised, as the church found in the matter of the revolution of the earth and various other assured results of geology and astronomy.

Now what sort of evidence is there for the doctrine of a relation between species by descent? Geologists have shown conclusively that the surface of our earth has assumed its present condition as the result of varied processes extending through vast periods of time. The order of its various phases is recorded much as the growth of a tree is recorded by the concentric rings that we see upon a section of the log. The fossils imbedded in the various strata indicate the forms of life that existed at various periods. By the study of these records in the rocks it is established beyond any reasonable doubt that vast ages before there are any traces of man, life appeared in its simplest forms. As the ages unfolded, more and more complex and higher and higher forms appeared. Frequently from piecing together the fragmentary records the student of ancient life finds consecutive series, in each case the later form varying a little from the form just before it. Sometimes a particular type lasted for vast periods. Again, forms relatively soon became extinct, giving place to higher and more complex forms slightly different, or else closing the particular series without a resembling successor. Latest of all and highest of all appeared man. This much must be regarded as established fact. It is not too much to say that no intelligent and relatively unbiased person familiar with the evidence can doubt this gradual appearance, through vast stretches of time, of slightly varying and ever ascending species.

The next question is as to the relation of these successively appearing forms. Is it probable that they were connected by descent, or that each of the countless new species was an independent creation, the Creator making no use of the earlier slightly different form? True, there are difficulties involved in the theory

of descent, as the sterility of present hybrids and the apparent fixity of species within our period of observation; but in view of what we know of the divine economy in nature, the tremendous series of miracles involved in the alternate view to most serious students of the subject presents still greater difficulties. Suppose a child admitted once a week into a friend's garden to see at various stages a lily which she is told is the handiwork of her heavenly Father. She sees the bulb placed into the ground; at another time she sees glossy leaves above the spot where the bulb was placed; again there appears the tall stalk with the forming buds; and finally there are the great, beautiful, fragrant lilies. She may believe that each of the objects that she sees has been independently molded by the hands of the Father upon the morning of her visit, for her individual satisfaction. The gardener may understand the situation differently. May not both views be equally religious?

As to articulation with the scriptural account, we should not forget that we must so interpret Scripture as to recognize the age-long series of slightly varying forms with such similarities as they would have if they had come by descent. So much is established. Would the supposition of descent greatly increase the interpretive difficulty?

We hardly need to be reminded that the tendency to accept the explanation of descent is furthered by the results of what we have called the historical and the comparative methods—the habit of coordinating common origin with observed similarities.

To those who accept the relation of species by descent there remains the question of the explanation of the successive changes. There comes in the work of Darwin, who collected a vast amount of detail showing how the preservation by natural selection of slight favorable chance variations would tend to progressive improvement. There have always been many who, sympathetic toward the general doctrine of descent, and granting a certain degree of validity to Darwin's explanations, have maintained the inadequacy of his contribution as an exhaustive explanation. The passing years seem to have confirmed those misgivings. Among other modifications of the doctrine, there is an increasing tendency to recognize changes far more swift and abrupt than those ac-

counted for by Darwinian principles. But all this is a scientific rather than a religious question. If the whole process should ever be analyzed, not one step would be taken in the direction of ultimate explanation. The mechanist would see mechanism as the ultimate, and the theist would see God.

The influence of Darwin in promoting the general view of the world as a progressing unity may well be exaggerated. He was in large measure the product of the spirit of his time. His significance lies in the vast body of observed facts which he marshaled in support of his theory. Parts of Tennyson's *In Memoriam,* written before the publication of *The Origin of Species,* are definitely from the evolutionary standpoint. If Darwin had never lived, the prevailing view of biological history would probably not be radically different. It was latent in geological and paleontological discoveries, regarded from the historical and comparative point of view.

Undoubtedly to the conservative Christian thinker, the crux of the matter is the application of the doctrine to man. Descent from lower forms seems inconsistent with man's position as created in the image of God. Some meet this difficulty by accepting the doctrine of descent for the lower forms and holding to special creation for man, or at least for man's spiritual nature. Others feel that whenever and by whatsoever specific process free self-conscious spirit emerged upon earth, at that moment the Lord God "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." In this same connection God is said to have "formed man of the dust of the ground." This is not a simple calling forth by fiat from the empty void. It assumes a process going back to the humblest material basis. Some consider it not unnatural to take these words as a swift fore-shortened summary of a long-extended process, and find no difficulty in the assumption that living forms were intervening links between the elemental dust and the completed man, holding that the important thing is not so much how man came to be as what he essentially is.

In conclusion, let us return to the illustration of the child. She has been told, and truthfully told, that God has sent to her the baby brother. This is all of the truth that at the time she is

able to appropriate. Years pass, and at length she is told something of the biological processes by which that gift of the brother was mediated. At first she may rebel, feeling that the later explanation contradicts her early belief and impugns the veracity of dear ones. Further experience and reflection, however, convince her that there is no real inconsistency, and with a clear conscience she teaches her own children in the terms in which she at first was taught.

IV. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SCRIPTURES

Before undertaking further application of the principles presented in our earlier analysis let me restate them. Religion is an aspect of the life of the spirit, a matter of experience. The believer by an act of faith—an affirmation of the spirit—refers this experience to certain transcendent realities. He accepts as the ultimate basis of all experience, all life, all being, the personal Divine Spirit whom he has particularly come to know through the presentation of Jesus Christ, and with whom he believes himself to be in spiritual fellowship, and the accomplishment of whose holy will he joyfully accepts as the supreme goal of his life. Religion as thus defined is essentially distinct from that world of phenomena that forms the domain of science, but religion's thought-garment, religious thinking, is intimately implicated with the various strata of world thinking. Hence any revolutionary change in the method and point of view of contemporary world thinking will absolutely require readjustments in religious thinking. In connection with the historical and comparative methods, the last generation or two have seen perhaps the most revolutionary changes in world thinking since the introduction of Christianity. Hence the unavoidable necessity of readjustments in our religious thinking. But as religion is the most essential element in religious thinking, the method and results of any such readjustments will be vitally affected by the thinker's religious experience and bias.

Now let us apply these principles to some matters related to our understanding of the character of the Christian Scriptures and of the proper method of interpreting them.

As the primary significance of the Scriptures is religious, let us first see just how they are practically related to the present experience of the individual Christian. If he was reared in a Christian family, his earliest religious impressions were associated with Scripture passages. His childish imagination early responded to Bible stories. The definite decision to yield his will to the Divine One was very likely in connection with the enforcement of some Scripture passage. At any rate, he recognizes that the data for that view of the Christ that was the most vital instrument in initiating his religious experience were primarily derived from the Scriptures, however much those data may have been colored or elaborated in the thought and life of the Christian community. As the young Christian heeds the admonition of his elders regularly to read his Bible, he soon discovers what feeds the new life within him. He finds himself in contact with souls who have felt what he feels. He finds expressions of his religious emotions and purposes that reenforce those emotions and purposes and which ever lead further on and on in the direction in which he has traveled. This personal testing of the religious value of what he finds in Scripture causes our individual Christian to understand and accept the testimony of other Christians of his acquaintance who have had longer and more extended experience with this body of writings; it further enables him to understand and accept the great body of the testimony of the Christian community throughout the world and throughout the ages as to the exceptional, yes, the unique value of these writings in initiating, deepening, broadening, and enriching the Christian life.

All this is a matter either of individual experience or of testimony to similar experiences of others, rendered intelligible and credible by the individual's experience. But along with this testimony the Christian community transmits to the individual believer teachings of a distinctly different sort. These teachings relate to the nature of the Scriptures and the processes by which they were produced, together with authorized interpretations of these writings and even systematic explanations covering vast reaches of being, physical, human, and divine, and extending from the remotest eternities of the past to the remotest eternities of the

future—all supposed to be directly based upon the Scriptures and indissolubly bound up with the acceptance of their religious value and significance, or even with the possibility of the Christian life.

We all know what the post-Reformation doctrine of the Scriptures was. The authority of a church claiming infallibility was challenged. Controversial interests demanded a rival infallibility; and this demand only reenforced what is the general attitude of early peoples toward their sacred books. The Scriptures came to be regarded as a collection of divinely dictated oracles, all upon the same plane of authority and finality and universality. While this view has been in various degrees modified among orthodox Christians, in the direction of recognizing historical perspective and the human limitations of the agents in the process of revelation, we have ample evidence of the vitality of the older view.

The doctrine that the Scriptures consisted of a finally and universally valid body of oracles must always have been difficult to apply practically; for when we look at them what do we find? We find literature in many forms—primitive narrations, tribal chronicles, devotional lyrics, popular adages, dialogues, and orations and letters growing out of all sorts of specific situations, as well as those general narratives and treatises to which the conception of the oracle might more readily be applied. To one in whom the sense of historical perspective is at all developed it becomes evident that what we have is a reflex of the manifold life of an ancient people through various ages—the reflection of various stages of culture, of various moral and religious stages of development, as well as the reflection of the views of a great variety of personalities under most various circumstances. With full recognition of the supreme practical religious value of these writings, and of the fact that the spiritual experiences that they record or reflect constitute a veritable revelation of the being, character, and will of God, is it not obvious that the religious import of any particular passage will, in a measure at least, depend upon the historical, literary, and personal circumstances under which the passage was formulated?

To the trained student to-day the comparative no less than the historical method makes an essential contribution to the under-

standing of Scripture. If we are to understand the religious experience of Abraham, we not only need to take into account his situation in relation to that of earlier patriarchs and later prophets, psalmists, and apostles, but we should take account of the religious beliefs and practices of Abraham's Semitic contemporaries. We can best understand what is essential in the spiritual experience of Israel at various periods by examining the conceptions and practices of surrounding peoples at corresponding periods. We can better appreciate the emphasis in controversial or denunciatory utterances of prophets or apostles in proportion to our knowledge of the evils denounced.

All this might seem so reasonable and obvious as to make us wonder how anyone can object to the application of the historical and comparative methods to the interpretation of Scripture, and yet we know that such studies arouse the most vehement opposition on the part of a great multitude of earnest evangelical believers. How can we explain this opposition? Are there misunderstandings that a calm, discriminating examination of the situation might dispel?

For one thing, the conservative does not feel the necessity of using the newer methods. Owing to his temperament, his pursuits, or the circumstances of his education he has never been awakened to the thought world in which so many of his fellows are living. He has adjusted himself to the thought that all religious utterances in the biblical writings are on one level plane of authority and of universal application. Perhaps he also thinks of all incidental expressions of opinion by Scripture writers, on all sorts of subjects, as equally absolute and authoritative. Change is uncomfortable, and dangerous as well. So if the change is unnecessary, it is gratuitous, if not wanton. Wickedness is quite likely the real inspiration of the innovator. If the conservative could only realize that for a large and rapidly growing body of the most intelligent Christians the newer points of view are simply unescapable, perhaps his attitude would become more sympathetic. If he further realized that only by the use of those newer points of view can the more thoughtful modernly educated youth be won or retained for the church, he might hesitate before deciding that it is neces-

sary for evangelical Protestantism to take a place beside Roman Catholicism as regards alienating independent thought.

One further misunderstanding is quite as fruitful a source of conservative hostility to devout modern biblical studies. We have said that the results of all modern studies of subjects involving religion will vary greatly with the religious experience and bias of the student. This is preeminently true in the case of biblical studies. In those writings the most essential and significant values are religious values. The most significant element in the life of Israel was the religious element. What hope can there be of sound results in the study of such subject matter on the part of one who has no personal knowledge of religion, and consequently no proper apprehension of religious values? Could we expect an adequate interpretation of the personality of Raphael from one temperamentally blind to the world of art, or of Shelley from one to whom poetic imagination and the witchery of verse melody make no appeal? No more could one expect an adequate interpretation of the life and literature of Israel from one blind to the supreme element in that life and literature. Especially perverted from the point of view of the evangelical Christian will be the results of the student who is actually hostile to the claims of religion, who assumes a naturalistic basis for what Christian faith assigns to the personal activity of the Spirit of God, who as a partisan uses historical and related material to support godless assumptions, which, as we have seen, are matters of ultimate belief, and do not properly belong to the domain of historical or other science. The conservative Christian has too often confused the work of such incompetent or biased students with that of devout men who, alive at once to genuinely religious values and to the intellectual necessities of this age, are striving to secure for the church the best fruitage of the conquests of mind, and to express the universal gospel in terms that shall function for the present and coming age, as the older terms functioned for the fathers.

If the results of historical and comparative religious studies have in the past appeared more negative than constructive, one reason may be that the more deeply religious have left the work so largely to be done by men of the opposite type. Profound rever-

ence for religion and for everything associated with religion, together with a failure to distinguish sharply between religion and its integuments has kept many devout men from appreciating situations regarding those integuments that long have been obvious to others. Thus the initial application of the newer methods has been left to those whose assumptions and bias unfitted them for constructive work—the religious people have played into the hands of their adversaries. But this is less and less the case. Devout men in increasing numbers are giving themselves to historical biblical studies that are both discriminating and constructive.

However confident we may be that the essential gospel will, after these adjustments in interpretation, not only emerge unscathed, but even, when freed from handicaps, enter upon a fresh career of conquest, still we should not minimize the changes that will be wrought in the field of theology. Our Protestant theology has largely been based on the assumption of the equal religious significance of all strata of Scripture. When primitive survivals, ethnic parallels, partisan shibboleths, and immature beginnings—the incidental, the temporary, and the temperamental—are seen in their proper perspective as distinct from the great broadening and deepening stream of revelation, much that has figured as important in theology will fall away as irrelevant. To some this may bring perplexity and pain; to others it will bring joyous release from the bondage of the letter that killeth into the freedom of the spirit that maketh alive.

The prevalence of a feeling for historical perspective will affect theology in other ways than through revising Scripture interpretation. On the basis of an unhistorical interpretation of Scripture there has gradually through the centuries been built up an elaborate intellectual structure. Philosophies have succeeded philosophies as age has succeeded age, and naturally these various philosophies have left their respective contributions. Jewish rabbinical systems, Greek neoplatonism, Roman legalism, and scholasticism, both mediæval and post-Reformation, have all had their part. The interesting thing is that as soon as these several contributions have once been embalmed in the theological complex they are thought of as partaking of the sanctity belonging to re-

ligion. Thus the twentieth-century Christian may be required to accept as a homogeneous whole what is really a patchwork from the intellectual wardrobes of the ages. The historic spirit is a solvent enabling one to distinguish these several elements from each other and clear the way for a direct interpretation of the gospel in the thought-language of the present age.

Yes, the direct interpretation of the gospel in the thought-language of the present age. This is a serious task—not one to be lightly undertaken. Those men of bygone ages were often giants, not in intellect alone, but in faith. Their formulæ embodied not only their philosophies but their religious insight and the religious insight of hosts of their contemporaries for whom they spoke and who accepted their formulæ. We cannot speak their language, but if our work is not to be futile we must grasp the spiritual truths within their formulæ. It is only as our religious leaders and the Christian community alike sincerely depend upon the leadership of the Holy Spirit, and patiently and intelligently work together that the great task can be accomplished.

Our age, I believe, needs above all else a new apprehension of and a new emphasis upon the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; or rather, I may say, a new realization of his presence and power and a new dependence upon his daily aid. The task of to-day is indeed an intellectual task, but it is equally a spiritual one. If the leaders of Christian thought and the Christian community alike are challenged to discriminate between the essential Christian message and its historical wrappings, they must have, to meet that challenge, a very keen sense of religious values; otherwise they may "throw out the child with the bath." Who can give that discriminating power but the same Spirit who has been the revealer and guide throughout the ages?

No doctrine of our faith is more fundamental or more directly apprehensible in experience than that of the Holy Spirit. When one by an act of faith apprehends God as seen in Christ and freely submits the life to him, there follows an experience that faith interprets as communion with God and direction by him. This interpretation is confirmed by the common experience and testimony of the community of believers. As the believer looks

into the early Christian records and reads of the activity of the Holy Spirit, he finds it altogether reasonable to believe that his own experience is of the same type as that of which the apostles wrote.

Belief in the direct activity of the Divine Spirit within and upon the human spirit follows almost necessarily from any belief in God capable of affording a basis for religion. As soon as one accepts as the fundamental reality in the world a personal spirit in any sense akin to our spirits, one finds it reasonable to suppose that the Universal Spirit would seek to make himself known to those whom he has called forth into his own image. The experience and the reason of the individual make him hospitable to the doctrine of a historical revelation. Why should not the Divine One seek to communicate himself to his potential children just as early and just as rapidly as there was capacity to respond to the impulse? As we turn to the spiritual history of the race, particularly of Israel, we find abundant evidence for just such a historic revelation as we should expect. From the simplest and crudest beginnings we find man, with however devious windings, attaining to higher and deeper and richer conceptions of God and his relations with man. This, the Scriptures tell us, has been the work of the Holy Spirit, and to him who has the first beginnings of religious experience nothing is more credible.

Apostles attributed to this Spirit the edifying messages of psalmists and prophets. They represented a special promise as having been given them that after the withdrawal of the physical presence of the Son of man this same Spirit would in a special manner and degree be with them to lead them into all truth. "I have yet many things to say unto you," Jesus is represented as saying to his disciples, "but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." The Roman Church would use these words to establish the infallibility of a hierarchy, even if unspiritual and corrupt. In reaction from the Romanist interpretation, may not the Protestant world have made an equally tragic misinterpretation? Some of us have used these words to establish infallibility and absoluteness for every word admitted into the canon, and a similar

infallibility for those early Christians who decided what to admit into the canon, but after the canon once was formed we have thought of the work of the Spirit as consisting chiefly in impressing the inspired words upon the hearts of man. May we not have assumed too abrupt a break in the Spirit's offices upon the formation of the canon? May we not, while giving due recognition to the supreme place of the Scriptures in revelation, properly see somewhat more of continuity in the work of the Spirit?

Let us tentatively put it this way. As in creation the Spirit of God is said to have brooded over physical chaos, so has the Holy Spirit brooded over the spiritual chaos. His work has been, just as rapidly as is consistent with human limitations, to lead the race progressively into the most adequate possible apprehension of the nature, character, and will of God, and to reproduce the divine image in human lives. Where he has been checked it has been by the limitations of human capacity and response. Ever since the time of the apostles he has led the community of true believers through crisis after crisis. Past triumphs promise future triumphs. Wherever great need coexists with a sense of that need and with teachable dependence upon the Spirit's help, we may believe that the needed help will be given. The church is confronted with a crisis. It can no more stand still or go backward than could the Israelites when they faced the Red Sea. Only the clearest and keenest and most vital apprehension of essential spiritual realities will enable the church successfully to meet this crisis, and such an apprehension can come only through the aid of the Holy Spirit. With that aid she may hope to free herself from increasingly crippling handicaps and at the same time to retain unimpaired all her pristine powers, disencumbered and refreshed for new and wider conquests.

THE EMIGRATION CRISIS IN ITALY

BERTRAND M. TIPPLE

Rome, Italy.

IN Italy emigration has long been one of the most serious economic problems. In the present hour the whole course of emigration has been turned from its normal channel by the closing of the great labor markets. At the same time to those causes which have forced the Italian laborer to emigrate for many years past are added others which are the immediate consequences of the war.

It has been the custom to divide the currents of Italian emigration into *transoceanic* (to the Americas, South Africa, Eastern Asia and the Pacific lands) and *continental* (to European and other countries of the Mediterranean basin). Official documents also use the terms *permanent emigration* and *temporary emigration.* It is worth noting that temporary emigration does not strictly correspond to continental, permanent to transoceanic; although in the majority of cases the continental emigrants are temporary, while among transoceanic the permanent prevail. As I have said, continental emigration usually includes those who go to the Asiatic and African lands of the Mediterranean basin as well as to various countries of the continent; while those emigrants who go to Eastern Asia or South Africa are included among the transoceanic. Permanent emigration includes all those who are absent from the fatherland for at least three or four years. Temporary emigration is an extension of the internal migrations common to agricultural laborers. That is, numbers leave Italy regularly each year for definite seasonal work.

In the thirty years from 1876 to 1906, the total annual emigration rose from one hundred thousand to five hundred thousand. This increase was furnished by both the rich provinces of the north and the malarial plains of the south. Generally speaking, a common need to find work sends them outside the boundaries of their own country. The southern emigrant usually seeks in the

Americas any kind of labor, while the northern prefers work in European countries as mason, miner, or trained factory hand.

There are several periods of climax in Italian emigration. The river was at its height between 1900 and 1913, reaching more than half a million in 1906; that is, one hundred and sixty emigrants for every ten thousand inhabitants. In the years that emigration rose from one hundred thousand to half a million annually, the population increased from twenty-seven millions to thirty-three and a half millions. The population of Italy steadily augments. Emigration, therefore, cannot be stopped abruptly without profoundly disturbing the economic life of the country. As I write, the unemployed number six hundred thousand. In 1800 there were seventeen million Italians; in 1861 twenty-five million. Between 1911 and 1921, the date of the last census, the growth was four per cent.

Examining the census of 1921, we find there are 38,835,184 inhabitants within the new boundaries. Calculating 1,564,691 inhabitants in the territory recently annexed, this leaves the population of the old provinces 37,270,403—an increase of 2,600,000 over the census of 1911. Studying more closely the statistics of the various provinces, we note increases in Latium, the Puglie, Sicily, Liguria, and Venetia. The Basilicata alone shows decrease. It is evident that the main wealth of Italy lies in her men and the expansion of her laboring power.

The condition of the international labor market, especially that of North America, always has its repercussion in Italian emigration. We have the high points of 1905, 1906, and 1907, the annual emigration surpassing 700,000. There are the low points of 1904, 1908, and the war years. In the war years emigration was affected principally by military exigencies. In 1921 we note a sharp decline, due to the usual cause, the crisis in the international market, mainly in the labor market of the United States. After the armistice the currents of emigration gradually took up their normal course. In 1920 they reached a point not far below the average of their highest decade. Of the total of 364,944, the transoceanic quota numbered 211,227 and the continental 153,717.

All through 1921 and to date in 1922 the economic crisis in

Italy has been acute. This would naturally increase the number of emigrants. Instead there has been a steady decline.

	1920	1921	Decrease 1921
Transoceanic	211,227	194,320	16,097
Continental	153,717	60,846	92,871
Total	364,944	255,166	109,778

The estimates for 1922 are even worse, increasing the gravity of the internal crisis.

Transoceanic emigration is more than half the total. The United States has absorbed about eighty per cent of this and the rest has gone mostly to Argentina, Brazil, and Canada. In 1920 emigration showed unexpected vigor. The first five months of 1921 registered 117,834, an increase of 40,000 over the figure for the same period of the previous year. Up to June, 1921, the United States continued to be the greatest center of attraction, receiving 97,218. In June and July of 1921 Italy witnessed a radical decrease in transoceanic emigration. This was due to the law limiting immigration in the United States. In June 4,556 Italians crossed the sea as against 24,795 in May. Of these only 1,900 entered the United States. So that while during the first five months of 1921 the proportion of transoceanic emigrants who went to the United States varied between seventy-five and eighty per cent, it declined in June to forty-two and nine tenths per cent, rose again to sixty-one per cent in September, falling to thirty-nine and two tenths per cent in October. From June through December, 1921, the total monthly emigration to the United States varied between two and six thousand, with a maximum above seven thousand in September. Of the total of 137,617 who went to the United States in 1921, those in the first six months numbered 103,656 and in the second six months 33,391. Comparing these figures with those of 1920, the decrease is 31,762.

During 1919 and 1920 there were too few steamers to carry the transoceanic emigrants. Now, in order to aid the hard-pressed Italian navigation companies, the government orders that only Italian ships may carry Italian emigrants. In the first four months of 1921 the following rates were established: to the

United States, 1,600 lire; to Canada, 1,800 lire; to Brazil, 1,750 lire; to Central America, 2,200 lire. The period which immediately preceded the enforcement of the restricting law in the United States was one of intense movement. There were more emigrants than could be carried and consequently the American lines were feverishly developed.

The same period saw a notable increase of emigrants to Argentina and Brazil. In September 3,548 left for Argentina; in October there was a jump to 7,900—or about half (49.6%) of the total transoceanic emigration. During the first half of the year the emigration to Argentina remained normal, but grew so fast in the second half that the total for the year was 12,350 above that of the preceding year.

In the course of a recent voyage to South America, Orlando, ex-premier, was impressed by the economic and cultural standing of the Italian immigrant in Latin America. Italian artists have beautified the cities with their works of art; Italian scientists have given life and impulse to educational institutions; Italian professional men and merchants have developed profitable careers.

In the great agricultural colonizations Italian labor predominates. Brazil owes much of its immense riches to the Italian peasant. In Argentina the cultivation of grain fields and vineyards is in the hands of the Italian colonist. One million three hundred thousand Italian citizens live in Brazil (900,000 in San Paolo), 1,000,000 in Argentina, 200,000 in Uruguay. During the war the Italians of Argentina and Brazil gave more proportionately to aid the families of soldiers than Italians in the Peninsula. This is an indication of their financial strength. Just now emigration to Brazil would increase rapidly if the Italian peasant were treated more humanely on the Brazilian ranches. There is a continual stream of wailing from those who already have sought work there.

In 1920 the Italian Commissary of Emigration made a contract with the Brazilian government to send over two hundred families, all expenses prepaid. These were to go to two ranches. There was provision for medical care, sanitary living quarters, the oversight of the Italian consul, etc. In short, there was full

guarantee of humane treatment for these laborers. But the Brazilian government failed to live up to its agreements. Bestial labor, unsanitary homes, poor food brought sickness and death to many of them. In the first months of 1922 we heard of Italians who, after having begged for bread in San Paolo, were aided by friends to return to Italy to save them from dying on the pavements of Brazilian cities. This is another side of Italian emigration.

The emigrating currents to other transoceanic countries are not notable, having been of no special importance even before the war. The movements to European countries and those of the Mediterranean basin have not again taken up their traditional ways since the armistice. The political and economic conditions of Germany and Austria have prevented the continental emigrants from throwing themselves into those markets as they, and especially the seasonal emigrants from Venetia, did before the war.

On the other hand, France has been able to absorb a large part of the emigration that in pre-war days flowed into Germany and Austria. During 1920 out of 153,543 continental emigrants, 119,811 went to France—the greatest number of foreign laborers in France. The Italian laborer was found in many branches of French industry, such as masonry, carpentry, stone-cutting, lumbering and gardening. In December, 1920, there was a serious crisis in the French market and the government hastened to relieve it by brusquely stopping foreign immigration, allowing the entrance of new foreign laborers only by special permit. Notwithstanding this, France remains the most important continental market for Italian labor and it looks as if its importance would increase as the work of reconstruction is taken up. In July, 1920, the funds for reconstruction began to lessen and the work slowed up. The continuation of this work is linked with the favorable solution of the problem of reparations. Germany has also made concrete proposals to France to reconstruct certain zones, said reconstruction to be considered reparation payment. It is to be supposed that also in this case Italy would have a chance to obtain part of the work for her laborers. Switzerland is a very restricted market for Italian labor and still further restricting measures are

foreseen. Previous to the war Germany furnished work for more than 200,000 Italian laborers. But the whole situation there must take on a much brighter aspect before Italian emigration can look hopefully in that direction. Should the Neckar River project be started, Italian labor might find an opening in that enterprise.

The general depression of the consumer's market, largely due to the hope of reductions in price and to the low value of the money of many of the buying countries, has caused a gradual slowing up of production. Great armies of unemployed appear. To diminish the political embarrassment, governments have turned to a policy of exploitation of national egoisms. These egoisms are manifest in the economic field as customs barriers for the protection of internal markets from foreign competition. In the social field they appear as restrictive measures, making the exchange of men from one country to another more difficult, thus protecting the native laborer from foreign competition. This policy has hit Italy hard because Italy is a country of rapidly growing population and poor capitalization. Italian emigration is consequently passing through a serious crisis.

Stopped by the war, the currents of Italian emigration to North America took up their course in 1920 so tumultuously and with such intensity as to render a reaction almost inevitable. The reaction took the form of the law of April, 1921, which limited the annual emigration to the United States to forty-two thousand with a monthly limit of three thousand six hundred. In June, 1921, the law came into force with the sharply restricting results we have noted above.

American shipping interests, damaged by the reduction of the number of immigrants, are seeking to better their situation by securing passage of laws which would insure them a monopoly for the transportation of emigrants from European ports to the United States. A law has already been prepared under whose operation the visé of an American consulate would be placed only on the passports of those emigrants who had tickets on American ships. This would apply to fifty per cent of the emigrants of seaboard nations and one hundred per cent of the emigrants from inland nations. The number of emigrants permitted to travel by Italian

boats would be reduced to twenty-one thousand. The Italian ships would lose also the annual quota from Austria, Poland, Hungary and the Balkans, amounting in round figures to twenty thousand. Twenty per cent of the Italian emigrants to the United States are skilled workmen. The others are common laborers. The large majority of them settle in New York and Pennsylvania. In Italy transoceanic and continental emigration have a clear division in territory. The transoceanic draws mainly from the southern provinces and Sicily. Continental emigration is fed principally from the north—Venetia, Piedmont, Lombardy, Emilia, Umbria, Tuscany.

Italy achieved her independence and union in 1870. Ten years later the emigration movement attracted attention. The phenomenon first appeared in the north. With the agricultural and industrial development of the north, it slowed up there and started in the south. When the south achieved political independence, the masses were torpid. In 1863 a Commission of Examination for the south closed its series of proposals with a strong recommendation to build roads. This proved to be the inauguration of emigration in the south. With the development of roads, a more liberal political administrative organization, national military service (bringing men of the north and south together for the period of training), emigration made its way. It was the echo of distant propaganda which made a backward people think of a higher civilization and resolutely desire to live better. And so the psychological factor was added. Emigration presented itself as a safety valve. If the laborers of southern Italy wished to better their economic condition, they could do one of three things: resign themselves, rebel, or emigrate. They chose the last named. Their minds were prepared, the transport expense was relatively small. Once started, the currents did not stop.

The last to take part in the emigration phenomenon was central Italy. This was due to its better economic state. The old and acute poverty of the south did not exist there. The small industries were sufficiently flourishing. They could adjust themselves to the new national life without serious crises. But the psychological influence of the nearby south, a certain desire to

improve conditions, buy a bit of ground and own one's own cottage were enough to start emigration in central Italy. Yet a certain measure of prosperity which exists there, preventing sharp contrasts between proprietors and peasants, acts as a brake.

Emigration has had a good effect on wages, on agrarian agreements, and on morals. In certain districts emigration continues, even when a good living level has been reached. Emigration no longer inspires fear. People go to America with the same nonchalance with which they go to Italian fields. The emigrants write home and the news they send of the conditions of the market is continuous and minute. According to this news, the emigrating currents swell or contract. Many emigrants cross and recross the ocean several times.

Two provinces merit a special word. Emigration has well nigh depopulated the Basilicata. The causes for emigration here are easily observed. Long ago the Basilicata boasted periods of wealth and splendor. It is now a poor, wretched region. One runs across a few primitive mills for grinding grain and pressing oil. Here and there is a dilapidated little woolen factory. The country is mountainous, only about a tenth of its area being cultivable. Even this part is devastated by malaria. Schooling is rare. Fifty years ago it was the country of brigands. To-day one may journey here without fear of molestation. The inhabitants are rough, but naturally intelligent, physically strong and energetic, especially in the mountainous regions where the malaria is less virulent. Emigration in the Basilicata is not due to overpopulation. There has been a slow depopulation. The fields are abandoned, laborers are lacking for agriculture and public works. Continuous emigration has finally brought about a slow movement of immigration, especially in the spring and when the olives are ripe for harvesting and pressing. In the early years emigration in the Basilicata received impetus from steamship companies' propaganda, the exaggerated tales of returning fellow townsmen, the decimating work of malaria, uncomfortable housing conditions, lack of commodities in the rural centers.

Precise data on the economic condition of the returning emigrant are lacking, but all have a little hoard. And in the home

land they find laws which make easy regional colonization, provision for pure water, loans, the buying of agricultural machines, etc.

The Basilicata is about to be reconstructed and malaria is to be fought. Will emigration cease? Only by curing the evil at its roots can the social organism be prevented from destroying itself. Agricultural schools have been opened. Good farming is encouraged by attractive prizes. Additional roads are being built. The government is pushing irrigation. Repopulation, however, goes ahead slowly. The peasant families of Calabria and other parts of Italy go to America or Brazil, but very few are willing to go to the Basilicata. So far a few families from the Marches and Puglia have been persuaded. The emigration from Calabria rivals that from the Basilicata, exhibiting the same characteristics. Emigration from Sicily is recent. Only after 1900 did it develop vigorously, but it soon became very intense, giving preference to the United States. The classes first influenced were the laborers, the farm hands, the small renters, and last the small proprietor. The districts which furnish the largest contingents are those where the oppression of the laborer is severe and age-long.

In giving Sardinia a glance, it is interesting to note that in certain parts emigration coincided with the development of the sheep industry, which turned the fields into pastures. It is a disordered emigration, open to many risks. Those overwhelmed in the Panama disaster were Sardinian laborers.

American civilization usually makes its impression on the emigrant. He returns to the home land with new energies and only in rare instances does he fail to make an impression on the old spirit. Here and there one returns in a weakened physical state. Too hard labor, too severe climate have broken him. The returning emigrant shows a most interesting psychological evolution. He is easier in manner, ready with words, has a special way of dressing, has acquired independence of character, a greater sense of his own dignity and rights. He desires to take part in municipal affairs, discusses political questions. Emigration is a great school, worth thousands of scholarships. Technically the emigrant does not return more of an expert, because the methods

of culture on a huge scale in Argentina and the United States are not generally those of Italy. Moreover, the Italian emigrants, especially to the United States, adapt themselves to all trades.

Under normal conditions the remittances sent by the emigrants amount to five hundred million lire a year. Sicily alone, it is calculated, receives a total annual sum of three hundred and fifty million lire. In 1919 and 1920 remittances were favored by the high rate of exchange. The sum received through the Bank of Naples alone in 1920 amounted to 980,356,380 lire and in 1919 to 494,386,660 lire. Often these savings are the fruit of sacrifice and harsh economy. They likewise are an index of the strength of the Italian people. An emigrant from Catanzaro told me that he was able to save forty dollars a month out of one hundred and twenty-five.

How are these millions used that flow into the fatherland from all over the world? At present they help to ease the terrifying national poverty. They certainly serve to elevate the standard of life in the emigrant's family. Other forms of investment are the following: payment of old debts, deposit in the savings institutions, purchase of homes, land, small business. The first debt paid is that contracted to emigrate. The growth of savings accounts in various parts of the south is due to emigration. The great increase in postal savings ends by enriching the national deposit and loan institution and making possible loans to local bodies for the purpose of improving public utilities and meeting needs which emigration itself creates. "One hand washes the other and both wash the face."

It is foreseen that emigrant penetration into foreign countries in the future will be in proportion to the quality of the emigrant rather than the quantity of labor available.

The Italian Commissariat of Emigration has outlined his program: (1) cultural and professional preparation of the emigrant in the home land; (2) the study of foreign markets and search for new outlets for emigrating labor; (3) moral and hygienic assistance and careful oversight during the trip and after arrival; (4) plans for colonization enterprises, furnishing men for large public works abroad and for the constitution of labor co-

operatives; (5) direction of labor to suitable countries and control of the enrollment of the laborers; (6) international agreements with governments and labor contracts with private individuals.

The problem of widespread and rapid instruction of the labor masses was pressed home to Italy when the United States prohibited the entrance of illiterate emigrants. In 1920 the Commissariat of Emigration opened night and holiday schools for illiterate and semi-illiterate emigrants. In the first year seven hundred and ninety schools were opened, mostly in the Abruzzi, Campania, Calabria, and Sicily, with encouraging results in attendance (28,000) and promotions (15,000). This year the Ministry of Education has inaugurated the National Society against Illiteracy.

From a late report I find that 3,045 schools are functioning with about 125,000 pupils enrolled, a large portion of whom are adults. Marked enthusiasm is shown by the people. Throngs of applicants, all over twelve, have been such that in some schools the police have been called in to control the crowds. The founding of these schools has been greeted in the small towns and villages as an event. Everywhere impressive ceremonies were prepared for their inauguration. In certain towns of the Basilicata the population gathered at the stations to receive the school supplies and carry them to their destination. Some Sicilian towns have offered important prizes for the best night-school pupils. Another year it will be necessary to enlarge materially the organization and equipment in order to meet the demands of the population desirous of instruction. With other organizations working against illiteracy, the Emigration Commissariat is turning to the special instruction of the emigrants. It is providing courses for the makers of cement and stucco, gardeners, carpenters, mechanics, embroiderers. Moreover, courses have been instituted for young farmers who will direct the masses of rural emigrants abroad. For the purpose of opening new outlets for the Italian laboring masses, the Emigration Commissariat has created a special body, The National Institute for Colonization and Labor Enterprises Abroad. With this will cooperate the great industries, navigation companies, banks, and other similar organizations. Among the

new tendencies there is that of substituting collective enrollments, determined by labor contracts, for individual emigration.

Furthermore, all those organizations are being overhauled and reorganized which aid in impressing the emigrant with the solicitous thought the fatherland entertains for him at home and abroad. Soon in many cities there will be day nurseries, rest rooms and boarding houses for the emigrant, which will insure him safety, economy and comfortable quarters en route.

The question of emigration is on the programs of the international labor conferences. Italy is prepared to furnish data and suggest precise lines of action. She is hopeful of international treaties that will guarantee favorable conditions for her emigrants and at the same time safeguard the rights and insure the solidarity of the laborers of all countries.

TWO PAGES OF POETRY

IN MARCH AND IN MAY

IN MARCH

Never a world so bare, so bare,
Since first our world begun—
A rumbling sky, and a sighing air,
And never a splash of sun.

Never a day so dull, so gray,
In all the dreary years—
A weeping breeze through the barren trees
Is weaving a mist of tears.

And all the world is bare, so bare!
And the rain is never done;
And there's never a leaf nor a flower fair,
And never a streak of sun.

IN MAY

Never a world so fair, so fair,
Since first our world begun—
A glowing sky, and a buoyant air,
And a shining shower of sun.

Never a day so glad, so gay,
Or a breeze so blithe and free—
The light clouds fly in a sea-blue sky
Like foam on a sky-blue sea.

And all the world is fair, so fair!
And the winter drear is done;
For the scent of the blossoms fills the air
And the trees are steeped with sun!

WILLIAM A. QUAYLE[1]

Redundant locks, Medusa-like the head,
Bold front and shoulders of the bison strong,
Heart wide as the illimitable plains,
And spirit eager as the winds uncurbed,
With fragrant breath caressing gently now,
Then swelling till the storm-king masters all:
So shall unshaken strength of mind avail
The drifting fogs of unfaith to dispel,
And revel in the mounting, roseate dawn;
So shall a dauntless purpose, great'ning soul,
Hold steady while decadent empires reel;
And so shall fancy trip with winged feet,
Primroses pluck, and heartsease seek for all
Way-weary ones, who front the world toward God.

A. L. KOENEKE.

[1] [The readers of the METHODIST REVIEW are requested by the EDITOR, not only to read this Sonnet of loving eulogy to Bishop Quayle, but to join in earnest intercession for his recovery from present illness.]

REFLECTIONS OF A COSMICAL CUSS

[That extreme form of subjective idealism, called Solipsism, frequently finds literary expression in the poetry of "cosmic emotion," a phrase which John Burroughs applies to the writings of Walt Whitman. In the following anonymous verses, the writer goes the whole way in this rather foolish form of subjectivity.—EDITOR.]

I see to the heart of the things that be
  In their endless flow toward seeming;
For all that Is is a part of Me;
The rock and the star and the sea
  Are moments in my dreaming.

The beauty that shines in the sunset skies
  With the blood of my heart is glowing;
The jewel's glitter is from my eyes;
The cloud is a fancy that flies
  In breezes I am blowing.

I give of my strength to the lasting hills,
  To the flowers I lend their sweetness;
My voice the forest with music fills;
My laughter is heard in the rills;
  I give the world completeness.

The planets are moved as my pulse beats time;
  All the depths are filled with my spirit;
The heavens above are a poem sublime
And I am the thought and the rhyme,
  And only I can hear it.

I am made of the dust of the nebulæ
And am fed on the cream of the Milky Way.
  Mine is the glory Supernal,
  I am the Cosmos Eternal!

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

WESLEY AND HIS WORK

Millions of trees grow in the forests of earth, few are tall enough or straight enough to be chosen to bear up the wires along which flash the world's messages. So among the millions of men in each generation there are not many so lofty and so true that they can pass forward from age to age the flaming torch of truth or the mighty currents of spiritual life and power. One such was John Wesley.

The eighteenth century, somewhat barren on the intellectual side, was fertile with results on the side of action. Perhaps never had vital piety sunk to so low a level. It was an age of religion without faith, of politics without honor, and of life without morals. You can see it pictured in Fielding's *Tom Jones* and Hogarth's Sketches. To swear was polite, to fear God was to be a fool, to reverently observe religion a superstition. Upon this chaos the Spirit of God moved. At the psychologic moment, deliverance came, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." The hour and the man never fail to come together in God's plans. His trains are always on time and always make connections. John! It was a name of good omen and had been borne by the Baptist and the apostle, Wyclif, Knox and Calvin, Milton and Bunyan.

Birth and Education

He was born in the rectory at Epworth, England, June 17, 1703, the son of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, the rector, and Susanna Annesley, his wife. He was of a good family—the name Wesley has many noble relations in history, such as Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington. His father was a godly man of literary and musical tastes, and a would-be poet. The mother would have been a marked woman anywhere. She brought up nineteen children

in sternest discipline. Like her great son she was somewhat lacking in humor with its consequent tolerance. The children were taught to take any medicine without a wry face and to "cry softly"! One day each week was specially devoted to each of the elder children. On the whole John was born right the first time, which made it easier to be born again. Rescued in infancy from the flaming rectory, he regarded himself as a "brand plucked from the burning" and became a lighted torch to illumine the nations.

Susanna Wesley taught her own children to read and write. John was sent to the Charter House School, to be tyrannized over by bullies, who also stole his food. Still he acquired abstemious habits thereby, and, following his father's advice, took much exercise. He went to Oxford, matriculating at Christ Church College, and finally achieved a Fellowship in Lincoln College. He was the head of the so-called Holy Club, a band of students who attended to their studies rather than dicing, and met to read the Greek Testament rather than to get drunk, which greatly surprised even the authorities of the university. He became one of the most scholarly men of his time and always hated and fought ignorance. God keeps his choicest tasks for cultured souls.

Some special influence shaped his thought, such as his correspondence with his mother, reading à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* and Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying.* Perhaps most marked was the influence of William Law, the mystic, who became quite an oracle to him. But, while there was always a strong mystical element in the character of Wesley, his strong practical sense and his active benevolence saved him from the dangerous quietistic consequences of mysticism. John Wesley, fortunately, could never divorce the worship of God from the service of man. His spiritual aspirations were joined to an intense ethical enthusiasm.

Spiritual History and Conversion

How did this punctilious ritualist, this church fossil, become the herald of a free and a full salvation? God drove him.

First came his missionary experience. The seeming failure of his mission to America was no mean part of the preparation of the prophet. Even the rather sordid love affair with Sophy Caus-

ton and the wretched complications following were not without their worth. Chief, however, was the Moravian influence which brought him into contact with the idea of religion as a reality of the inner life, that we receive it first hand from God and not second hand through the church.

It came to a climax in Aldersgate Street, London, May 24, 1738, when he writes, "My heart was strangely warmed." This he calls his conversion and it was truly a conversion. We do not need to ask if he was a saved man before; that is beside the point. He himself says of his previous experience: "I had the faith of a servant and not of a son." Is there no difference? It was the newly found faith of a son with its inward warmth, its sense of the supernatural and its clear assurance which turned this Anglican priest into a prophet of God.

There is too little space to record the results of his conversion. His preaching became a thing of power. His enthusiastic sermons woke the sleepers in the churches and drove him to the fields. In 1740, he began his work in the Old Foundry; then came the providential origin of the United Societies, of the Class as the unit of Methodist order, and of the Conference, of which Wesley was absolute dictator—almost pope. Before his death eighty thousand saved souls had been gathered into these Societies.

Life and Labors

Perhaps no career can show a greater record of arduous achievement. Forty thousand sermons, the care of all the societies, five thousand miles of horseback travel a year for fifty years. He wrote a whole library of books, of two hundred of which he was author or editor, circulated sermons and pamphlets; translated and edited grammars and other text books—all without weariness or murmuring. At his death no man was so loved, honored and remembered. What a death bed! with its atmosphere of holy triumph and celestial joy. And such last words! "The best of all is God is with us." "I'll praise, I'll praise." "Farewell."

Some Characteristics

He was a small man, as were all the Wesleys, down to the

Duke of Wellington, about five feet six inches in height and weighing 120 pounds. He was exceedingly neat in dress, precise in manners, orderly in habits—his whole life was conducted by system. In religion and all else he was a *Method*-ist.

While not a profound thinker or philosopher, he was a wonderfully acute logician and an admirable controversialist, both in temper and spirit. He was a scholar of the true type, making all knowledge his province, and yet "a man of one book." He had fine artistic taste, especially in music, being of a musical family.

As to character, his youth was unsullied and his manhood untainted by any moral blot. A fastidious purity preserved him from any stain of uncleanness either in body or mind. There was something rather unlovely in his asceticism and the severity of his social ideal. While he was very witty, he was somewhat lacking in humor, not a jolly fellow like Luther. The Kingswood school is a rather sad example; the pupils had no holidays, were not allowed to play, must rise at four, etc. They were taken to see corpses; this was followed by a discourse on death and hysterical religious outbreaks. Too much time at Conference was spent in discussing hatbrims and curls. He treated boys as if they were men and men as if they were boys. A larger touch of humanness would have made him understand women better, and saved him from some assumptions of arbitrary power.

In his noble tolerance of spirit, he was far in advance not only of his own but of the present century. Who of the present day so-called Fundamentalists would have agreed with him in allowing salvation to a Socinian like Thomas Firmin, whose biography was among the books he circulated? Would many of them accept his inclusion of that pious pagan, Marcus Aurelius, as a citizen of the Kingdom of God? His sermon on "The Catholic Spirit," his ruling out intellectual religious opinions either as tests of Christian character or as measures for membership in the Methodist Societies, and his famous challenge of spiritual fellowship, "I desire a league offensive and defensive with every lover of the Lord Jesus Christ"—all mark him as the most distinguished liberal in theology and radical in religion of the leaders of Christian thought in any age.

He was supreme in spirituality of character. He had a genius for holiness and a spirit attuned to heavenly communication. It was the temper of a true prophet. What if on some questions he was over-credulous—believing in demoniacal possession, witchcraft and other superstitions—these were simply excuses of a soul that saw the unseen as few men see it and who successfully opposed the Sadduceeism of his times. He dared to place his inner experience and that of his followers against cheap formal logic and philosophy, and they won the day, as they always will. That there is a living and present God, that inspiration shall never fail, that the divine life in the souls of men is a reality, that the church cannot thrive on a secondhand religion—this was his opulent contribution to the needs of his century, the message that it supremely needed and whose value will never be lost to the world.

THE KINGDOM OF POWER

As we approach the Pentecostal birthday of the church, there is one rather obscure saying of our Lord which seems to hold a fitting spiritual message for that day of power. He said: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and the violent take it by force." The parallel passage in Luke may assist in its interpretation: "The gospel of the kingdom of God is preached and every man entereth violently into it."

In other words, the kingdom of God is a kingdom of power, and the man of power may seize and possess it. The gospel is not a lullaby to sing men's souls to sleep, but a trumpet blast to rouse them to energy and action. The world of grace, like that of nature, is mastered by turning its own forces against itself. A holy violence, a sacred energy, a divine enthusiasm, an inspired zeal are essential to winning a place in the kingdom of God.

1. This is well illustrated by the kingdom of nature. It too is a kingdom of force, and not mastered but by force.

Our earth is alive with energy, largely born of the sun. That orb of day rays out some eight quintillions of horse-power daily, and raises two billion tons of water three and one-half miles every

minute. Its power blows in the wind, rises and falls in the tides, glows in every furnace, thunders in every cataract and courses all the paths of electric energy.

Yet much of this force is wasted; only a tithe is utilized. The sunlight that bathes Sahara and sinks into its unresponsive sands would turn the machinery of many worlds like our own. Even in our attempts to apply it, man has formed no perfect mechanism. The best steam engine gets but about one seventh of the power slumbering in the coal.

Little by little the static energy of nature is becoming dynamic by yielding to the energetic touch of man. Only men of power succeed in the mastery of the world. The men of force conquer force. Millions had seen apples fall before Newton did, but it revealed nothing to them. Millions had seen the kettle lid blown off by steam before James Watt, but it never suggested to them the giant that turns our wheels and draws our carriages. It is the great soul that grasps the great thought. Great discoveries are not accidents. Newton was not a lucky man to note the apple's fall; it was a lucky apple to be noted by the eye of Newton and by the brain that was behind the eye. Nature's doors open to persistent knocking. Her treasures are found by the earnest seeker. Every railway, steamship, electric light, all swift advances made by man in the conquest of nature, have been made by souls full of a passionate energy.

This is true in other realms. The cities of the mind are carried only by siege and storm. It is the hand of splendid daring that carves out empires, creates philosophies, writes poetry and realizes the dreams of art. The might of the world of thought yields to the might of the resolute mind of man.

2. What is true in the realm of nature is still more true in the kingdom of grace. It is also a kingdom of power, and will only be mastered by strenuous endeavor and bold assault.

It is a kingdom of power. Its march is cyclone, its touch earthquake, its voice resurrection. Its fountain is the Sun of Righteousness. We live in the dispensation of the Spirit, the enduement of the exalted Christ. He cries to our failing strength, "All power is given unto me in heaven and upon earth." This is

the force that fills the world to-day, the force behind all force, the sun behind the sun. The sources on which we may draw for the power of moral and spiritual revolution are as exhaustless as the infinite God himself.

This kingdom of power is at the service of men of power. Shall men conquer nature by energy and effort, and be allowed to yawn indolently into the riches of divine grace? Man storms the sea and the land; he charges everything up to the stars. Thus must he win God, heaven and spiritual things. They are the reward of a mighty earnestness. God uses the human instrument to accomplish his work.

There are opposing forces. Within are the evil tendencies of human nature, its sin, sloth and selfishness. Without are the social influences leagued with sin, the mundane powers that battle against God. Beneath are infernal agencies, warring against grace and goodness. All is a conflict, calling not for weaklings, but for soldiers. The strife is great, but greater still the reward of victory.

There is a vast waste of spiritual power. We squander recklessly the wealth of the kingdom. As often in hard times there is plenty of money, but the problem is to put it in circulation, so is it difficult to mobilize the church. There is power enough to have saved the world long ago, yet the world is still unsaved. There is inexhaustible moral energy to draw upon, and moral reforms still are languishing. Power slept in fire and water until Watt and Stephenson set it to work; power was latent in the skies until Franklin taught us to tame it, Morse to guide it and Edison to harness it. Yet this is nothing to the spiritual power asleep in many a Christian congregation. The promises of God are unused and the fullness of the salvation in Jesus unappropriated. Our preaching needs a new touch of power and our music a fresh thrill of spiritual inspiration. Our praying must be saturated with the blood of the Saviour's passion and filled with the agonized groaning of his eternal intercession. And then it will come! "Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you."

What is wanted is a robust, energetic faith, not a sickly, consumptive one. Use of the power we have is a supreme condition

of getting more. The church ought to be a spiritual power-house and every member a dynamo.

Do you really want a revival? It will come when we want it enough, when we seek and work for it as we do for other things. When our souls burn with the unquenchable flame of a holy fervor, before the force of our sacred violence the gates of the kingdom shall open.

Are you unsaved? There is power enough to save you; it will be yours when you dare to say, "I can, I will."

THE SERMON OF THE BIRDS

Saint Francis of Assisi preached to the birds, but the birds also preach to us. They have their language as well as the flowers —not the magic speech learned by Siegfried in the legend, but a tongue we all can learn, if we come into full sympathy with God through his works.

As the flowers form the calendar of the growing year, so the birds mark that of the living year, from the swallow whose first twittering is the promise of summer, the bluebird that ushers in the spring, the thrushes filling the June copses with their melody, up to the blackbirds rising from the August stubble or the crows that call through the falling leaves on a frosty morning in the autumntide. They teach much the same lessons as the flowers, but in a different way.

Birds are preachers of providence. Jesus illustrates the care of the heavenly Father by his care of the sparrow, the most insignificant and disagreeable of birds. In its very fall God has a loving purpose. He hears the young ravens when they cry and feeds the sea birds along the hungry shore. There is even in the Bible a law about the care of birds' nests. We don't wonder that God sees the mountains or notes the splendid rush of the ocean's billows, but it is joy to know that he will stoop to sweep aside the grass and see the bobolink's nest, hemmed in by buttercups in the waving meadows.

Birds are preachers of faith. Nothing is more wonderful than

the migration of birds, nothing more instructive than this instinct that seeks the summer. They teach the truth of deep instincts; they bid us dare to hope. They are God's eternal prophets, feeling the future in subtle ways, and chanting their "Amen!" to the blind longings of the soul.

> ". . . I go to prove my soul;
> I see my way as birds their trackless way.
> In some time, his good time, I shall arrive;
> He guides me and the bird."

Birds are preachers of love. The birds are the truest of all true lovers. The "time of the singing of birds" is the pairing and breeding season; their songs are love songs. The singing birds are monogamous and true to their one mate. Did you ever hear the male bird on the branch pour out his soul in a tide of melody? He is serenading his mate in covert. So does God in heaven sing great songs of love for his hidden loved ones here.

Birds are preachers of beauty. They are lovely with every hue the sun can paint, as gorgeous as if they had darted through the rainbow and borne its glories away on their wings. They tell how beautiful God is and he "renews his ancient rapture" in the yearly vision of their loveliness.

Birds are preachers of joy. They are God's poets and musicians, his choirs, making his songs and singing his high praises. For song is the speech of joy. The time of the singing of birds is come and God bids us rejoice by the example of the birds. They understand the simple joys of life. They know, for example, the sweetness of the unsullied day; they are all early risers, having family prayers at four and five in the morning. Doubtless many excellent people lie in bed late, but it is not fancy but sober fact that folks who rise and retire early are nearly always good. The fresh young things—morning, spring, childhood, and birdsong—all go together.

And so the birds preach their sermon of providence, faith, love, beauty, and gladness. Perhaps if we shall listen there will come, beyond all their rapture of song, a deeper note, heard not by the ear, but in the heart. "The voice of the turtle dove is heard in the land." There is a Holy Dove whose voice is heard in the

springtime of the soul. More than all vernal rapture is the new life that comes to the church and to the heart when again the Spirit's voice is heard.

Teach me to love thee as thine angels love,
One holy passion filling all my frame;
The kindling of the heaven-descended Dove,
My heart an altar, and thy love the flame.

THE CREDO OF JOHN OXENHAM

[Dr. JOHN L. HILLMAN, the President of Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa, as a comment on an editorial in the March-April, 1923, issue of the REVIEW, has quoted the following poem by John Oxenham.]

MY CREDO

Not what but WHOM I do believe,
That in my darkest hour of need
Hath comfort that no mortal creed
To mortal man can give;

Not what but WHOM!
For Christ is more than all the creeds,
And his full life of gentle deeds
Shall all the creeds outlive.
Not what I do believe, but WHOM!

Who walks beside me in the gloom?
Who shares the burden wearisome?
Who all the dim way doth illume?
And bids me look beyond the tomb
The larger life to live?
Not what I do believe
BUT WHOM!
Not What
BUT WHOM!

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

IN the book of Ezra, among the returning captives from the Babylonian bondage there marched two hundred singing men and singing women. Those who could not sing in captivity now break forth into psalmody. Doubtless many of the Psalms were added to the Hebrew hymnal, begun by David, at this time. The following are brief expositions of two of these post-exilic psalms, the 85th and the 137th:

THE BRIDAL HYMN OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

The national resurrection of Israel after the return from the exile awakened the long-silenced voice of psalmody. The harp of Judah was strung to new and joyous songs.

> "When Jehovah turned the captivity of Zion
> It was as though we dreamed!
> Then our mouths were filled with laughter
> And our tongues with shouts of joy." (Psa. 126. 1, 2.)

And the first note in the new symphony is the celebration of the divine grace that has wrought reconciliation between Jehovah and his people.

> "Thou hast taken thy land into favor,
> Thou hast turned the captivity of Jacob.
> Thou hast canceled the transgression of thy people."
> (Psa. 85. 1ff.)

"*Thy* land," thy people, the new harmony between God and man is based upon this identity of interest which has its root in the electing love of Jehovah.

Two themes are so inextricably blended in this psalm that we may not unbraid the strand of holy harmony in which they are entwined, the mingled gratitude for national deliverance and for personal pardon. Piety and patriotism are twin blossoms in the garden of the praises of Israel. Social and individual salvation go hand in hand in the preaching of the prophets and the poetry of the psalmists. National blessing and prosperity will follow the establishment of right relations between God and the individual. Goethe speaks of three reverences—for that which is above us, about us, and beneath us; but the psalmist knows that man shall not come into peace with nature beneath his feet or his brother man about him until he has been reconciled with the God above him.

The movement toward these restored relations begins on the divine side. The heavenly wooer finds his unfaithful spouse in the wilderness of her woe and "speaks comfortably to her." It is he that must "revive us again." We cannot "get up" a revival, it must always come down from heaven. In the heart of the Eternal One must first take place that strange alchemy of love that blends his justice and mercy into the medicine for our healing. "Grace" is the flower-like word in whose fragrance of meaning we perceive the melting of the indignation of a justly offended God into the mercy that forgives and the love that blesses. Before man can say,

> "Thou hast canceled the transgression of thy people
> All its sins hast thou forgiven,"

there must have been an atoning process in the divine nature and his holiness and love brought into an inward harmony. We who see the self-revelation of God perfected in Jesus Christ can sing with a fullness of meaning ransomed Israel could not know,

> "Mercy and truth are met together;
> Righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

Like the bending angels above the blood-sprinkled mercy seat that covered the violated law, the stern justice and loving tenderness of God embrace in the mystery of mercy at the cross of Christ.

There is no lasting peace without righteousness. No controversy is settled until it is settled right. The atonement is not a compromise with sin but a conquest of sin. When "righteousness looks down from heaven" an answering "fidelity springs out of the earth." The marriage of earth and heaven does not mean the lowering of the standard of the skies but the bringing back of the world to its lost allegiance and obedience. The vanished glory shall return and dwell in the land.

This psalm is thus a nuptial song of heaven and earth. It celebrates the renewal of a broken harmony and resolves the discords of time into the unison of eternity. There had been estrangement. God and his people were not on speaking terms. Israel had experienced the awful loneliness of the divine silence. But now the dread stillness is broken, the voice of the beloved again speaks in pardoning mercy, and his redeemed people sings,

> "Fain would I hear what Jehovah speaks,
> For he will speak peace to his people and his saints."

Prosperity follows peace. Jehovah shall grant all possible blessing to a penitent and obedient people, and the song of love ends with a couplet which has been exquisitely rendered:

> "Righteousness blossoms before him
> And welfare in the print of his feet."

Perhaps the noblest modern expression of this relation of heavenly justice to human joy is that found in Wordsworth's "Ode to Duty":

> "Flowers laugh before thee in their beds
> And fragrance in thy footing treads;
> Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong
> And the most ancient heavens through thee are firm and strong."

By the Waters of Babylon

David did not write all the Psalms. The 137th is the song of a returned exile who probably finds his house in ruin, the temple in ashes and his trees uprooted. It is a song out of a heavy heart—a mixture of tender melancholy and fierce patriotism. Yet he can sing because he has got home again after months of captivity. His song begins with a low plaintive strain and ends in a crash of wild and barbarous music and burning words of vengeance.

1. It is a *patriotic* psalm. It glows with intense love of his own country.

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land?"

Perhaps there was never devotion greater than that of the pious Jew. To him, his country was a noble land of lofty, picturesque moun-

tains, deep fertile valleys and plains, a land "flowing with milk and honey." The feet of Jehovah had touched its sacred sod. It was a land of great ancestral memories—of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. How dreary seemed flat, treeless Chaldea compared to Canaan. Babylonia had rivers, great rivers, but the captives saw in them only reservoirs for their tears.

2. It is a song of *freedom*. Liberty is the inspirer of lyric poetry. Such was the song of Moses as he led a ransomed people out of bondage:

> "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea,
> Jehovah hath triumphed, his people are free!"

There is no earthly loss so great as the loss of liberty, no sadness greater than that of slavery. Deliverance brings songs. Revolution marches to the rhythm of the French *Marseillaise* and Emancipation exults in the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

3. It is a dirge sung on account of *spiritual deprivation*. It is Zion, city of solemnities, and its House of God, the place of worship, that they missed most. Many a man, who wanders far away from youthful environments, turns at last in loving memory to a home despised, a family altar little prized, and early religious influences once undervalued. Love often grows in absence. No life is so poor as that which has lost sight of that shrine where God and man come together. A town without a church would be a dreary dwelling place even for the skeptic and the sinner, as well as for the worshiper.

4. It is a song of *Exile*. Babylon was a strange land. Nothing is more depressing than nostalgia, that depressing disease we call home-sickness. Exile is a true picture of all earthly life. We are made for better things than this world can furnish and cannot be wholly content here.

> "I'm a pilgrim and I'm a stranger.
> I can tarry, I can tarry but a night."

5. It is a song of *long silenced* souls. We all have a harp, a nature attuned to pleasure and delight. Our senses are strings in a lyre of gladness. And there are other finer strings, the passions, emotions and desires. The human heart is "a harp of a thousand strings." But it is easily unstrung and silenced. There are many times when we cannot sing, and only the rippling of the rivers of sorrow can be heard. Our harps are muted, save as the sad winds make moanings through their strings as they hang on the boughs of bereavement, sickness, outraged love, and spiritual distress. And we cannot sing without sympathy. All songs are silenced by the mockers who insultingly challenge us to sing in slavery and exile.

6. And so it ends as a song of *retribution*. To this psalmist the vision of the Christ-life has not yet come. He cannot leave vengeance to the Almighty. And so his suppressed wrath breaks forth in a savage cry of cruelty—not to their Chaldean lords alone but to innocent babes—a cry that we can understand as we remember the late wicked war, but dare not condone. Yet doom *was* waiting and soon fell on Babylon.

7. *Two cities* are named in this psalm—Babylon, the capital of worldly

power, and Zion, the City of God. Those two cities still exist. Babylon is built from the earth upward in the mundane hope of scaling the skies by human effort, but the heavenly Jerusalem is a Pentecostal gift, that comes down from God out of heaven. Babylon is a harlot, drunk with blood, clothed in sinful scarlet and wedded to the beast of chaos; the New Jerusalem is a holy bride, robed in the white linen of holiness, and the Bride of the spotless Lamb of God.

Of which city are you a citizen?

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS

No one who has not a theory to maintain can read the fourteenth chapter of Genesis without being satisfied that it is a narration of facts, pure and simple. Persons, places and circumstances are given just as could be expected in any account of such an expedition. And as the writer was evidently drawing from earlier sources, we are not surprised to find so many explanatory notes of archaic terms and local changes, which were deemed necessary for readers of a later age.

Such, however, has been the mania of destructive biblical critics for robbing the Pentateuch of its historical character, of denying the very existence of the patriarchs and of all history relating to them and of depressing the date of almost every portion of the Old Testament that this chapter, too, has been subjected to the common fate of the rest. Strange to say, little or nothing is accepted as historical unless corroborated by monumental evidence or other documents. These critics take for granted that the first third of Genesis is unhistorical, therefore anything mentioned in these chapters is legendary or mythical, "a pure invention, a fanciful *midrash* or a post-exilic forgery."

This chapter was discussed at great length by Professor Noeldeke in 1869. His conclusions, though decidedly against its historical character, were accepted, in the main, by almost all German Old Testament scholars. He did not hesitate to brand the entire story as pure fiction, based upon the conquest of Palestine by the Babylonians in later ages. We say in later ages, for this great scholar was inclined, at first, to deny the historical character of Palestinian invasions at so early a date—say 2000 B. C. The entire narrative, we are confidently told, is a "free creation throughout, . . . a late phantasy without the shadow of historicity." Speaking of the rescue of Lot by Abraham, he says, "If that is possible, then nothing is impossible." The idea that Abraham with a small band could attack the great army of the four great kings, rescue Lot, and take booty, is "contrary to sense." Melchizedek is a "poetic figure." Most of the proper names are "etymological inventions." Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and the rest of them "are without historical probability." In short, the entire chapter is a "conscious fiction, in which only a few historical names have been used."

The motive of the writer of this chapter, we are assured, was not to

give historical *data*, but rather to exalt Abraham and thus give the Hebrew people a high standing among the nations. In doing this he paints an imposing picture. He makes the Father of the faithful tower up among the greatest of his contemporaries. He is presented as a model for all times and persons. His unselfish character and unparalleled magnanimity are shown in glowing colors. He is by nature a pacifist, but ready to fight for the rights of others, no matter how powerful the tyrants or numerous their hosts. He not only rescues Lot, but recovers the men and booty taken from the petty kings of the Vale of Siddim, but generously refuses all pay for his valiant services. And finally he presents himself reverently before the priest of the Most High God and gives him "a tenth of all," as is befitting for a man of God. Be this fiction or be it poetry, the picture is sublime.

There is something so unique about this chapter as to confound the literary critics of the Pentateuch. They have looked in despair for the sources. No wonder that they cannot agree on this point. It is not a good fit for any of the documents such as J. E., J. E. P., or even R. J. E. P., i. e., the final redactor or editor. It is a "strange and perplexing chapter," or, as another has said, "an isolated boulder in the stratification of the Pentateuch." Professor Kautzach in his translation of the Old Testament puts an ? before this chapter and remarks that it belongs to none of the known documents of the Pentateuch, but was inserted when the final edition was made, or possibly added after it had been completed. Doctor Driver invented an additional sign, SS, that is, special sources.

It seems perfectly credible that Abraham on leaving Ur brought some written records with him. Perhaps the story of Creation and the story of the Flood, and possibly some of his family records. The head of so powerful a clan might have had a secretary, one acquainted with Babylonian script. This scribe or steward of his house (Gen. 15. 2) might have kept a register of the more important events in the life of his chief. If so, these would be, doubtless, handed down to Isaac, Jacob and their descendants. Surely, to believe this does not tax one's faith any more than it does to accept the numberless speculations of the so-called liberal higher critics.

The depression of dates may at first sight seem a very harmless thing. For, we are told that it matters little whether certain psalms or some story was written 500 or 1,000 years B. C., since the great truth in them is just as good whether early or late. The effect and possibly the object of depressing these dates was to rob large portions of the Old Testament of its historical nature. This done, the critics found it comparatively easy to maintain the legendary character of many narratives. If, for example, it could be shown that the laws attributed to Moses were not written till five hundred years or more after the time of the great legislator, it would not take long to prove that we have nothing from his pen, or that the story of the tabernacle with its many ceremonies was a fiction. There is one fatal objection to the inferences and conclusions of this school of criticism. They are all purely subjective and speculative.

They are so much so that they could not be accepted in any court of justice as valid evidence.

Things have changed much since Noeldeke wrote his essay in 1869. The last twenty-five years have made such archæological discoveries as to render many statements of the more destructive critics worthless. Though the four kings of Gen. 14. 1 have not been identified with absolute certainty, and though the story as related has not been corroborated in every detail, we know of no critic of our day who will say that it is a "poetic creation" or that the proper names are "etymological inventions." It is, now, conceded that at least two if not three of the four kings are known to the Babylonian records. Nor will any critic now claim that military expeditions from Babylonia to Palestine were impossible in the days of Abraham. Indeed, there are many inscriptions of Elam which prove that the kings of that land ruled over Syria and Palestine long before the date usually assigned to Chedorlaomer's campaign, yea, many, many centuries before. Lugal-zaggisi's empire extended from the Persian gulf to the Mediterranean coast, at least, 4000 B. C. Such then being true, it is absurd to object to the historical character of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis on account of the political situation, as many critics have done.

If we examine more closely the objections to the historicity of the four great kings, who were allies in this campaign, we shall find that they were not "poetic inventions," but rather, real personages. We know of no good authority who denies that these kings ruled at the time mentioned in Genesis, i. e., in the days of Abraham. On the other hand, there are many who are satisfied that every one of the four is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. Professor Skinner, certainly not a conservative, though unwilling to regard this chapter as unmixed history, nevertheless says: "The four names in verse 1 are undoubtedly historical, although the monumental evidence is less conclusive than is often represented." If "undoubtedly historical," it makes but little difference about further evidence. Professor Driver is less willing to concede this, and yet *he* says: "The campaign described in Gen. 14, though particular details are improbable, may in outline be historical." These excerpts stand in bold contrast with the views expressed by Noeldeke and others in the last half of the nineteenth century. Let us now consider these names more closely.

That there was a King of Shinar, i. e., Babylon, named Amraphel, is quite generally conceded. Almost all Assyriologists identify the Amraphel of Genesis with the Hammurabi of the sixth dynasty of Babylonia, who was not only a King of Babylonia, but of Martu, i. e., Westland. Now, Martu is a term often used in the cuneiform inscriptions, and is frequently applied to Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine, or the land bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. The consonant *l* in Amraphel offers a serious obstacle in identifying the name with Hammurabi. Etymology, however, presents plenty of obstacles. Compare e. g. the *r* in the French Londres with the English London.

Arioch, according to many excellent authorities, is the Eriaku or Eriekua, that is the Sumerian Arach-sin, King of Larsa, the Ellasar of Genesis—of whom we have many inscriptions. According to these he was

a contemporary of Hammurabi. This Eriaku, one time King of Elam, was conquered by Hammurabi, who made Elam a part of his empire.

Chedorlaomer has been identified by some great scholars with Kudurlagamar, also a King of Elam and likewise a contemporary of Hammurabi. Kudurlagamar is one of those theophorous names easily recognized as Elamitic. Kudur, in the language of Elam, signified servant, and the second component part, Lagamar, was the name of a prominent Elamitic deity. Thus the entire word means servant of Lagomar. It should be stated here that some of the best Assyriologists reject this identification, but the bulk of authority favors it.

The fourth king named is Tidal, whom Doctor Pinches, formerly of the British Museum, thought possibly the same as Tudchula of the inscriptions. The Hebrew form of Tidal may be Tidchal, which bears a closer resemblance to the Tudchula of the inscriptions. The consonant *ayin* in the Hebrew form comes immediately after *daleth*, but owing to the difficult sound is not transliterated into the European versions of the Old Testament. The *avin* has a very deep, guttural sound and is constantly heard in Arabic.

Now, Doctor Pinches discovered three tablets in the British Museum on which are the names Kudurlach (?) gurmal, Eri-Euka and Tudchula. It is not surprising that they suggested Chedorlaomer, Arioch and Tidal of Gen. 14. The fact that they occur together on these tablets as they do in Genesis is also significant. In fairness it should be added that these tablets of Dr. Pinches are comparatively late, not earlier than the fourth century B. C. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of their being copies of much earlier ones, for copies of ancient documents have been found in great numbers in various Babylonian ruins. No one will claim that the documental evidence in favor of the historical character of Gen. 14 is absolutely convincing, or that the kings mentioned in it have been identified beyond contradiction. At the same time, there is no monumental proof of any validity whatever against the identification. Thus so far as there is any evidence it is *for*, rather than *against*.

When we come to the five petty Canaanite kings, who rebelled against Chedorlaomer and his allies, there is nothing known except what we read in Genesis. This is not strange. Palestine has left little or no written inscriptions of the early period. At least, none have been, so far, discovered. Nor is it strange that the cuneiform inscriptions should be silent about this campaign. The Babylonian rulers were not given to chronicle their defeats; they much preferred to record their conquests and victories. The assertion that the kings defeated in the Vale of Siddim were fictitious and that their names were "etymological inventions" is purely an invention of German biblical critics. The fact that these kings are named in "two alliterative pairs" or that "Jewish exegesis gives them a "sinister interpretation" does not reduce them to a "poetical play upon words," just for rhetorical purposes. Objection is also made to the historical character of the story because Mamre and Eschol are given as the names of persons, while elsewhere they are place names. Pray ask those of us familiar with the proper nouns, Cleveland, Columbus and Cin-

cinnati, may not Mamre and Eschol be the names of persons and places too?

We are again assured that this chapter cannot be historical because of the route taken by the allied kings from the North to the Dead Sea. To say the least, it is a precarious business for a biblical scholar sitting in his study in Berlin, London or Boston to prescribe a route to a general in a far-away country in hoary antiquity, and that without knowing the exact reason, or the whole object of the expedition. A general bringing an army from Babylon to Palestine would most probably march by the way of Damascus. From that point to the Dead Sea he might either go on the west or east side of the Jordan. The shorter way would be through Bashan and Moab on the east, the route reported in Genesis to have been taken by the allied kings. But why, we are further asked, go as far south as the Gulf of Akkaba or, at least, El-Paran, then turn north and march as far as Engedi on the western shore of the Dead Sea, if the objective was the Vale of Siddim or the territory just south of the lake? In the absence of full data this question may not be answered offhand. It is possible that the punishment of the five petty kings was not the only object of the expedition. And even if it was, there might have been obstacles, which made such a circuitous route necessary. At any rate, armies do not always march in a straight line or go in the shortest way possible. It is, at least, conceivable that the northern kings had their reasons for taking the very route recorded in this chapter. Be that as it may, the objections of the critics against this route rest on nothing more than speculation.

We are again told that it is absolutely incredible that a petty sheik of a small clan, like Abraham, could have routed the great Babylonian army, rescued Lot, his nephew, and recovered the booty taken from the kings near the Dead Sea with a small force of men of only three hundred and eighteen. But may we not believe that as Abram marched northward, a hundred miles or more, other chieftains joined his forces? Moreover, large armies have often been routed and completely defeated by greatly inferior numbers.

As could be expected, objections have been urged also against the historical character of Melchizedek, the priest king of Salem. This is perfectly natural, since all other persons in the story have been declared legendary. The critics tell us that Melchizedek is only introduced by some priestly writer in order to boost the tithing system. For, if Abraham gave tithes to this servant of the Most High, his example should be followed by all good Hebrews throughout the ages. It might be remarked that the practice of tithing was very ancient and widespread, not only among the Semites, but among other peoples as well. It is commonly agreed that Salem is no other than Jerusalem or the Uvi-salim of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. This brings us to observe that the statement in Heb. 7. 3, that Melchizedek was without father, without mother and without genealogy, finds a striking parallel in one of the tablets above mentioned, where Abdi-Chiba, vassal ruler of Uru-salim, speaking of himself, says: "Neither my father, nor my mother set me in this place." If

the statement concerning Melchizedek—as it is generally interpreted—means that he was without a priestly pedigree, but appointed to his high office directly by God, may we not assume that the words of Abdi-Chiba are capable of a similar explanation. Though separated by several centuries Melchizedek and Abdi-Chiba both ruled in Jerusalem; and their appointment to office might have been conducted on the same principle.

The last objection which we shall notice is that concerning the four cities destroyed. These, according to Genesis, were in the Vale of Siddim, mentioned in this chapter and identified with the Salt Sea, i. e., Dead Sea. The critics are, no doubt, quite correct when they assert that this big lake existed ages upon ages before the time of the events mentioned in this chapter. No one, however, has any right to assume that the Vale of Siddim and the Salt Sea are synonymous terms, or that they ever were conterminous. Even to-day the southern end of the Dead Sea is a shallow lagoon, some ten by six miles in extent. In the days of Abraham this saline morass might have been entirely dry and, indeed, a very fertile spot, well suited for a thickly settled population. There are, if we are correctly informed, some well-known geologists who favor this view. These further say that the four cities in question might have been destroyed by an earthquake. Such cataclysms have occurred elsewhere in various ages of the world and have swallowed up large areas. What was caused by an earthquake near Lake Baikal in Central Asia in 1898 A. D. may have occurred in Southern Palestine two thousand years B. C.

While we believe that the fourteenth chapter of Genesis is history rather than fiction, we will not doubt the possibility that a clever post-exilic Jewish writer might have transported himself back into the remote past and might have evolved from his own fertile brain just such a story as this, and that every person and incident and indeed, several of the places written into the narrative are pure inventions. But in our opinion such a theory is itself a pure invention, resting upon purely speculative basis.

In conclusion, we can do no better than insert the following from Professor Maspero, the celebrated French archæologist:

"From the outset Assyriologists have never doubted the historical accuracy of this chapter, and have connected the facts which it contains with those which seemed to be revealed by the Assyrian monuments. . . . The Hebrew historiographer reproduced an authentic fact from the chronicles of Babylon and connected it with one of the events in the life of Abraham."

W. W. DAVIES (Deceased).

[*Editorial Note.*—The controversial tone of the above article is quite unnecessary in view of the fact that nearly all biblical scholars give special emphasis to the historicity of this chapter. Dillman's phrase is, "Historical in a stricter sense than the other narratives regarding Abraham." That Driver was right in assigning it to "special sources" is a necessary implication even of Doctor Davies' argument. It contains idioms and expressions not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. It certainly came from an independent, but also a most ancient source. We

should always beware of charging the fanciful theories of radical critics upon scholars generally. More faith has been gained than lost by the scientific study of the Bible.]

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

WHY SHOULD WE COMMENCE MISSIONARY WORK AMONG PROTESTANT POPULATIONS?

It was surely no mere coincidence that Dr. Edouard König's eloquent plea for world peace appeared in a recent issue of the Review. Here we read the words of the renowned Old Testament scholar pleading with the churches of the world to unite in opposition to war and for the securing of world peace, "before it is too late," at the very time when the French forces are invading the Ruhr, and England, with all her churches, refuses to recall her troops from the Rhine in protest. Further, it is also the very time of the gigantic betrayal of the Armenians by the consent of the so-called Christian nations of western Europe to "transference of populations." Surely these very facts are enough to suggest to us the conclusion that, while Dr. König's plea is eloquent and pathetic, it is bound to fall on the deaf ears of powerless men, so far as Europe is concerned. In other words, there is, it seems, no power in the churches of Europe, either Catholic or Protestant, to help in the securing of world peace. These churches, from whom we ourselves received our Christianity, or whence we brought it with us, have no longer sufficient moral vigor to keep men from killing each other in fratricidal war. Fratricidal indeed the present conflicts in Europe seem to many of us. The whole continent in which our civilization developed seems rushing quickly into chaos, even such a chaos as when the invasions from the Northland overthrew the Roman Empire. Hence the fear arises on all sides that an invasion from Asia might, in the present state of things, overwhelm European civilization and European Christianity. Such is the problem which Europe to-day presents to the world.

What will the solution of this problem be? France apparently believes that it ought to be military, in the establishment of a French hegemony over Europe. Doubtless there would be more peace, if all Europe was enslaved, and if the oligarchic empire, the so-called French Republic, had absolute dominance over the whole continent. Yet there are so many people who love liberty that I fear many of them would be very unhappy to lose it, even if thereby they secured peace.

Then there is the economic solution. This is the one we hear most about lately. If only the mark, the crown, the lira, and the franc were stabilized, then Europe might recover, it is argued. A great many plans are continually being put forward to this end. We are being asked in many unofficial ways to revoke the European debts. If we did, would Europe recover? Possibly, if her peoples did not spend yet additional amounts on armaments.

It seems to me that the true solution of the European problem must

be neither military nor economic, but religious. The whole continent of Europe is sadly in need of a revival of religion. Unless the Christian Church in Europe unites to prevent war, nothing much can be done to this end. It also seems to me that none of the churches of Europe, as at present situated, have sufficient vitality to accomplish this. Help must come from outside. In other words, Europe needs help in a religious way from us. Unless we help her, she will perish.

If we look over the last Year Book, we see how well our Methodist Episcopal Church has already responded to this call. In nearly every part of continental Europe our missions are established. Many of these missions are in supposedly Protestant lands, as northern Germany and the Scandinavian countries and Finland. Others are in countries where, in spite of a Catholic state religion, there have been for centuries strong Protestant bodies at work. To this class belongs Hungary, among other countries. We started our mission there in 1920. Missions in some other largely Protestant states were commenced as early as 1894 and 1887. We cannot discuss here the reasons why these older missions were started. But the mission to Hungary and our work among Hungarians in the United States are both of them so recent that we ought to consider their causes. Being myself more familiar with the Hungarian situation than with any other phase of our missionary work, I will use it as an illustration, for I think it a good illustration of Europe's desperate need.

1. Hungary to-day is in a condition of chaos. She went into the war on the side of the Central Powers because she was controlled by Austria. The Czecho-Slovaks were forced to fight on the same side. Hungary's sympathies were with England and France rather than with the Central Powers. Yet when peace came, Hungary was dealt with more harshly than were the other enemy countries. Two thirds of her counties, including great areas occupied solely by native Hungarians, were given to Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Roumania. Practically all the natural resources of mines and forests were taken away. We can see the political expediency of what was done. It was the desire of the Entente Powers to build up a strong bulwark in the East in the formation of the Little Entente. This could only be done at the expense of Hungary. Injustice to a little nation was hardly to be considered in comparison with such high matters of international politics. Thus Hungary was given absolute independence, with only a fraction of her territory and population, and with watchful neighbors, who had already taken much of her territory and were ready to seize the rest, as soon as they got an opportunity. It was not long after the peace treaty that Roumania invaded Hungary and carried off practically all the rolling stock of the Hungarian railways. The Little Entente Powers still insist on Hungary paying great indemnities, and even now are threatening to seize more of the little bit of territory left to Hungary after the war.

The result of this treatment is that an almost unparalleled feeling of bitterness has swept over Hungary. All classes are filled with hatred. To some extent they hate the allies of the west, especially France. But the hatred centers more in their feeling toward Czecho-Slovakia and Rou-

mania. It is not only a hatred of these states. It is also a hatred of every individual of the dominant races of these states. If I should announce to a group of Hungarians that a Czecho-Slovak or a Roumanian who spoke Hungarian well would come and speak to them, there would at once be a vigorous protest. They would inevitably say that members of these races are "no men," and that to listen to them would be insulting to a pure Magyar. This attitude is found here in this country among the stray members of the Hungarian nobility resident here, among the intelligentsia, among the ignorant but religious working class, and also among the Socialists. Everywhere there is this spirit of hate.

As a result of this spirit of hate, it was impossible for the Hungarian people to steer any smooth course in the management of their affairs. At first, after the war, a real republic was organized under the presidency of Count Michael Karoly, but such a fair-minded administration could not last long in an atmosphere of hate. It was not long before the Bolshevists, under Bela Kun, overthrew the Republic and established a Soviet. Terrific excesses were indulged in by the proletariat maddened by hate. The excesses brought a swift reaction. The Conservative, Catholic party overthrew the Bolshevists, executed many of their leaders, and established the new kingdom of Hungary, ruled over by a regent, since the great Powers will not let them have a king. Although headed by nominal Protestants, this nationalistic party has been guilty of the greatest excesses since its assumption of power. Few moderate men are to-day left in Hungary. The mass of the people, to judge from the returns at the last election to the Hungarian Parliament, are either extremely Bolshevist or extremely nationalist. What future has Hungary as a nation to look forward to when, filled with hate for other peoples, her own people hate each other almost as bitterly as they hate outsiders?

2. Could Dr. König's plea for a united effort on the part of the churches save Hungary? What churches are in Hungary? What influence have they?

Before the war the Roman Catholics formed about half the population, the Greek Catholics and Greek Orthodox about one quarter, and the Protestants of the Reformed and Lutheran branches pretty nearly one quarter. Other religious bodies, as the Baptists, were numerically so small as to make scarcely an impression. Through the changes as a result of the war, the Roman Catholics constitute about fifty-five per cent of the present population of Hungary, and the Reformed and Lutheran churches about twenty-five per cent. To-day about fifteen per cent of the Hungarian people are avowedly atheistic and bolshevistic. From this rough survey we can easily see the commanding position of the Protestant churches in Hungary as it is at present constituted. Furthermore, the present heads of the kingdom of Hungary have both been nominal Protestants. The Regent, Admiral Horthy, has only recently given up Protestantism for political reasons. The Premier, Count Stephen Bethlen, is a lineal descendant of the Bethlens, princes of Transylvania, who in the early days of the Reformation were the bulwark of Protestantism in the East. The Protestant churches of Hungary have power to-day as

they have not had for centuries. And yet these same churches seem unable to do anything toward world peace or the establishment of Christ's principle of good will among men.

When we begin an inquiry into the causes of the inefficiency of the Hungarian Protestant churches, we find causes that, I believe, have produced the same result all over Europe. There are two principal causes for this state of things—too much political activity in the churches and too much dogmatism. As a result of these things the spiritual life of the people has sadly suffered.

In Hungary religious matters were inextricably mixed up with political matters. "The Catholic priest, the Protestant pastor, and the Jewish rabbi are practically on the footing of state employees, the amount of their salaries, emoluments, and pension allowances being fixed by the government and paid out of a fund raised by a tax *per capitem*."[1] Through this system the government absolutely dominates the clergy of all denominations. The result of this state control is that the clergy are far more closely linked up with the government than could be the case here. Further, the clergy tend, under this condition, to feel a much closer bond with each other and with the rest of the intelligentsia than with the poor and ignorant people who form the bulk of their congregations. At banquets the clergy and other intelligentsia sit together. The poor people sit apart. Not only at banquets but everywhere the clergy seem to forget that they are the shepherds of the people. Rather they have the feeling that the people owe them a comfortable living.

The Hungarian churches are not only linked up with the politics of the country. There is also a great deal of political life within the churches themselves. The Protestant churches of Hungary are world-famed for their parish politics. Each parish is a little world, terribly self-centered, with an enthusiasm which is almost boundless over the securing of various church posts. Usually there is a division of the parish into two or more parties. Each party strives to secure as much power as possible in the direction of the local church affairs. In the larger world of synods and consistories there is the same opportunity for schism, only on a larger scale. All this trouble is caused by the fact that the Protestant churches of Hungary have no great outlook. They have lived to themselves, and so can seldom see beyond themselves.

The other principal cause of the inefficiency of the Protestant churches of Hungary is due to their exaltation of dogmatism. One of the most prominent preachers of the Reformed Church of Hungary puts the case thus for his church: "Concerning faith, confession, and liturgy the Reformed Church of Hungary is the finest specimen and truest representation of evangelical reformed Christianity. Her symbolical books breathe the pure air of evangelical dogmatism, and are acknowledged as the most perfect confession books ever constructed."[2]

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[1] A. L. Delisle, *Hungary of the Hungarians*, page 211.

[2] *The Magyars in America*, a little tract published by Rev. Alex. Harsanyi, Ph.D. Dr. Harsanyi is editor of the *Reformatus Lapja*, the official church paper of his denomination in the United States.

The result of this preoccupation with political and dogmatic matters was just what we might expect. The Protestant churches of Hungary ceased to be either evangelistic or missionary. They forgot that they had any duty in the way of winning men for Christ, either in the homeland or in foreign lands. To quote again from the prominent Reformed minister to whom I have already referred: "We are often asked why we hear or read so little of the activities of the Reformed Church of Hungary, and why the influence of such a mighty church is nowhere apparent in the evangelization of the world. It is because she lives to herself, and because the ministers deal with the masses instead of dealing with individual souls."[2] A revival meeting in a Protestant Hungarian church would be extraordinary and ludicrous. The preachers do not expect men and women to be saved during their services; in fact they would be very much surprised and humiliated if conversions should begin to take place. Souders, in his book *The Magyars in America*, thus describes the services: "The sermon is based on some Scripture passage rather than on a text, as is the custom among American ministers, and usually applies to some present-day subject. Before the Great War there were frequent references to the aspirations of the Magyar nation; since then there is more frequent reference to the sufferings of the people and the comforts of the Scriptures. There are also more frequent references to Americanization and the need of help from American Christian churches."[3] While this applies primarily to Hungarian churches in America, I believe the very same attitude prevails among the preachers of Hungary. Various Hungarian preachers have told me that the central point of their message was either the enforcement of an article of dogma or the clear statement of the political situation.

In spite of all this the people come to church for something besides dogma or politics; and when they are not given that something which they seek, they go away hungry. Soon they become dissatisfied, and abandon the church altogether. Now it is not an easy thing to leave the church in Hungary. Every individual in the kingdom must be registered as an adherent of some religious denomination. Otherwise he is treated as an atheist and an enemy of organized government. Hence we cannot but admire the courage of that fifteen per cent who are willing to be thus branded, however much we may hate their views and lament their folly. Unless a man will belong to such a class, he must declare himself an adherent of some church. It matters not whether he ever attends. This is not a religious matter, it is a state matter. Once a man is registered, he is at once taxed for the support of that church, and he has to pay this tax. It is no mere church matter. It is a matter of civil law. If he refuses to pay, his goods are seized to the value of the assessment. What is more natural than that men who have bowed beneath this system should abandon it as soon as they have an opportunity? With very limited opportunities, people are abandoning the churches as fast as they dare in Hungary itself. With tremendous opportunities, the people are leav-

[3] D. A. Souders, *The Magyars in America*, page 93.

ing the Hungarian churches in wholesale manner in this land. There is scarcely a city in the United States, in which Hungarians live, where even half of them are now connected in any way with the church. More than half of them are avowed unbelievers. They rail at churches. They hold the priesthood up to ridicule. Why? It is not because they are naturally irreligious. The Hungarian is naturally a religious man. The reason is that they are absolutely disgusted with the religious condition of their home land, and they imagine that all churches are alike.

While they leave their own churches, they still retain their hunger of soul. Bolshevism and atheism are, for the Hungarian, only temporary moods. They really want something that will satisfy their souls. Hence the Hungarians are, in spite of their unbelief, or perhaps because of it, extremely susceptible to every new-fangled religious cult. I can scarcely call on a Hungarian home without finding copies of Russellite, Christian Science, or Pentecostal books. The people are eagerly reading these things, pathetically seeking to find in them the way of salvation. I asked one woman why she read Pastor Russell's books, and she told me that they came nearer by far than the Hungarian Reformed Church to giving answers to the questions her heart was asking. When I was reading some beautiful Hungarian prayers with my tutor, one time governor of the County of Bekes under the Karoly regime, he remarked: "Those prayers make God seem so far from us. To me He seems so near."

With a true instinct our church has sought to fill this need, to satisfy this craving. During the last few years it has started work among the Hungarians both in Hungary and in America. It is true that these Hungarian missions are yet only in the experimental stage. The advisability of starting these missions is often questioned. It is frequently suggested that we should assist the Hungarian Protestant churches in every possible way, and leave the field to them. Being myself at work in this field, I have sought earnestly an answer to the question whether I had any business to be doing this sort of work. I have asked many different Hungarians whether they felt there was a work to do. Laboring men have told me that if we can bring them a conception of religion that will make God nearer and salvation clearer, then we will have given them the greatest boon of all. They have felt that all their churches, whether Catholic or Protestant, craved was to get the money out of the people. They want a religion that is more concerned with the kingdom of heaven than with earthly kingdoms. However, the clearest single answer to my question came from one of the noblest Hungarians who has yet visited our country. I refer to Bishop Dezsö Balthaszar, of Debreczen, the head of the Reformed Church of Hungary. I was one of a party who had lunch with him during his visit to Detroit. At that time I asked him if he thought we were justified in commencing work among the Hungarian people. He said: "Certainly. Neither the Catholic, Reformed, Lutheran, nor any other church established in Hungary can reach the mass of the people any longer. Not only are we losing them, but they are flocking into Bolshevism and becoming a menace. If you can do anything to save them to Christianity, may God bless your efforts. A church such as yours,

which has had no connection with the past in Hungary, can do what we cannot."

It is, then, in the belief that our church can do what the Hungarian churches cannot that we have commenced this work. If we can only be the means of helping to communicate to some of these men and women something of the experience of John Wesley that famous night in Aldersgate Street, then we need not fear for the part the Christian Hungarians will play in securing world peace.

I have used work among the Hungarians as an illustration, but I firmly believe that neither Hungary nor any other nation of Europe can be made really safe until its Christianity is stirred up to greater heat through contact with the more vital Christianity of America. Europe needs a revival of religion more than anything else. It is our duty to help to bring in this revival.

E. D. BEYNON.

Detroit, Mich.

BOOK NOTICES

Life of Christ. By GIOVANNI PAPINI. Freely translated from the Italian by DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER. Pp. 416. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.

ABOUT eighteen years ago Signor Papini, then the youthful leader of the Italian pragmatists, published articles in the monthly journal Leonardo, in which he showed a certain trend toward Fideism, a sort of pragmatic interpretation of religion. In one of these he talked about the Man-God, a divine objective of human development. He had been an atheist, even an immoralist. Since then he has been converted to Christianity, to faith in the God-Man. Anarchist, atheist, nihilist—writing literature which burned with brilliant hate—at last he has surrendered to the religion of love.

His conversion to Romanism has doubtless been both a gladness and an embarrassment to the Holy Church—as he has enough of the individualistic mind of Protestantism to interpret the Gospels in his own way. His book is rather dogmatic—a dogmatism all his own and not ecclesiastical—it is also uncritical and even more imaginatively picturesque than that of Renan. Yet it is one of the best literary lives of our Lord ever written, one which is based on a mastery of early Christian literature and a strong conviction of the historic credibility of the Four Gospels. Signor Papini writes in a vigorous journalistic style, whose vividness and what we Americans call "snappiness" will make it attractive to the popular mind. It burns with pious passion, flames with shining phrases, and abounds with vivid sketches of character. Some of these are coarse, as when he calls Herod "a bloody-minded hog" and Nietzsche "the poor syphilitic Anti-Christ." A man who himself was once a malignant opponent of religion ought to be less malicious in characterizing the skeptics of any age. Mrs. Fisher, in her admirable version, has very properly omitted some passages like to these and also others of little interest to

an American reader. We doubt whether any of the dozen translations of this great book into other languages can equal this English one.

The comparatively few interpretations of the gospel record from the Romanist viewpoint which this book contains are so modestly stated that few Protestants will be offended by them. It is on the whole a book for all Christians of every creed or nationality. It makes that central life of all humankind so strikingly real that one's heart fairly stops beating as he reads the tragic picture of the passion and sees the glory of the resurrection. Here is the eloquent paragraph with which he closes the narrative—one fitting to be devoutly read and meditated upon at every May-day of the Ascension:

"He is still with us, the Son of Man, who to be nearer Heaven ascended mountains, who was light made manifest, who died, raised above the earth toward the blackness of Heaven, and rose from the dead to ascend into Heaven in the peacefulness of evening, and who will return again on the clouds of Heaven. He is still present in the world which He meant to free. He is still attentive to our words, if they truly come from the depths of our hearts, to our tears if they are tears of blood in our hearts before being salt drops in our eyes. He is with us, an invisible, benignant guest, never more to leave us, because by His wish our earthly life is an anticipation of the Kingdom of Heaven, and is a part of Heaven from this day on. Christ has taken to Himself as His eternal possession that rough foster-mother of us all, that sphere which is but a point in the infinite and yet contains hope for the infinite; and to-day He is closer to us than when He ate the bread of our fields. No divine promise can be blotted out; the May cloud which hid Him from sight, still hovers near the earth, and every day we raise our weary and mortal eyes to that same Heaven from which He will descend in the terrible splendor of His glory."

Giovanni Papini may not equal intellectually such other great living Italians as Croce and Gentile, but as a personality he is more bewilderingly fascinating and as a writer more magnetic. He employs the historic imagination with historic fidelity. He is a noble example of the modern drift toward the valuation of Christianity as the supreme solution of all human problems and the one ultimate and imperishable religion.

GOSSIP ABOUT READING

THE poet Rogers is quoted as saying: "When I hear a new book talked about or have it pressed upon me, I read an old one." He indeed is a happy man who has some beloved classic that he reads again and again. . . . This rule, however, should be used with caution. It does apply to the literature of power—such as the Bible and Shakespeare. But the literature of knowledge must be up to date, as it changes with the growth of human knowledge. . . . The Chemistry or the Physics of fifty years ago is quite useless for to-day. . . . The same is true of those religious books which deal with the scientific side of religion—commentaries and theologies. But those that treat of experience and char-

acter are eternally new. . . . There is a certain peril in the intellectual over-feeding which produces mental dyspepsia. But I imagine that that disease is becoming less common nowadays. Few folks read too much at present. . . . They read newspapers and cheap magazines whose messages will be dead things by to-morrow. . . . Many inquiries have reached me as to literature on the Person of Jesus Christ. The Four Gospels and the Pauline Epistles should be given the first place —and then as a comment on it all such a very able work as H. R. MacKintosh's *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*. . . . Bishop Gore's Bampton Lectures on *The Incarnation of the Son of God* is worth while, but he is rather too much tied up to dogmatic phrases. . . . On those two central Christian facts every theological library should be well furnished with treatises—the Incarnation and the Atonement. . . . Now, how about a library? . . . Every family should have a library; it is the richest furnishing for any home. The brain needs chairs and tables quite as much as the body. . . . But don't make it a promiscuous collection, like one of coins and postage stamps. Let us check the professional collector disease. . . . Let the library grow as the mind grows —so that every book shall have some connection with both head and heart. . . . Read that wonderful human document, John Wesley's *Journal;* if you can afford it, get the last enlarged edition. . . . And our father in God will reveal to you that he was an omnivorous reader. Books were the constant companions of his life of laborious pilgrimage.

Matter and Spirit. By J. B. Pratt. Pp. ix + 232. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. Price, $1.50.

The Nathaniel W. Taylor Lectures, given annually at Yale Divinity School, have proved a fruitful clearing house for theological discussion. The present volume is the Lectures for 1922, and in its subject-matter it departs somewhat from the usual trend of the series. The departure, however, is one for which many will be grateful. Professor Pratt is among modern psychologists what the late Professor Denney was among New Testament theologians—the peer of most of them in technical knowledge and scholarly equipment, but a vigorous critic of destructive tendencies and an equally vigorous defender of what to the common man appears to be obvious truth. The book is inscribed "In grateful memory of William James," and in many ways it suggests the great psychologist.

Professor Pratt is no pink-tea controversialist. He is an adversary whom, if one should meet him in the way, it would be well to agree with quickly. Caustic speech is, of itself, no argument, but there are occasions when it is excusable, and Professor Pratt is not the man to let such occasions slip by. For example, discussing the claim of Naturalism that it is necessary to deny any causal efficiency to consciousness because it is difficult to believe in any exceptions to the action of mechanical law and because it is difficult to imagine how mind can act on matter, he says: "I submit that to be so nice with little difficulties, and so omnivorous with monstrosities that approach the mentally impossible is a case of straining

at one poor gnat and swallowing a whole caravan of camels. Like others I find it *difficult* to *imagine* an idea affecting a brain molecule; but I think I am also like nearly everybody else when I find it *impossible* to believe that thought and purpose have had nothing to do with building up human civilization and creating human literature and philosophy" (p. 162). Referring to the Red Queen's assertion to Alice that she could believe any impossible thing if she would but draw a long breath and shut her eyes, he continues: "I too can believe a good many things with my eyes shut; but if I keep them persistently open I become less and less impressed with the ambitious claims and the false dignity of Naturalism. And by Naturalism, I mean, of course, not natural science but the unempirical philosophy, the *a priori* theory, which would extend the formulæ of natural science into spheres in which the true scientist has no ambition to advance. Taken in this sense, Naturalism appears to me the great hoax of our times. Its seemingly adamantine fortifications, with their tremendous and terrifying guns, are mostly camouflage. Its walls are enormously impressive; but like those of Jericho they will fall before whosoever has the courage coolly to examine their foundations—and to blow upon a trumpet" (pp. 163–4). Again, speaking of Personal Idealism, the earnestness of its exponents, and the possibility of using it to preserve all the important values, he claims that it nevertheless puts its exponents on "a slippery inclined plane" at the bottom of which waits the Absolute. "You get the picture. An enormous crocodile of an Absolute with jaws extended at a terrifyingly obtuse angle, waiting at the foot of a steep and slippery plank, down which is shooting the pathetic figure of the personal idealist destined in no time to make one more little meal for the All-Inclusive. There is no escape for him; he will easily be swallowed in one small gulp. For the Absolute cannot be expected to make two bites of even a personal idealist. Though with all my heart I wish the best of fortune to the personal idealist in his exciting adventure, I have no wish to sit on his inclined plane. So great respect have I for the Absolute that I mean to take no chances and to come nowhere near him" (pp. 214–5). The reviewer confesses to considerable sympathy for the philosophy in question, but he is not so much of a partisan that he cannot enjoy the picture—*as a picture!*

It is very evident that there are certain people who will not like this book. Their opposition will be the author's greatest praise. (1) Those will not like it who are seeking to revive the so-called scientific materialistic determinism of the type of Feuerbach and Haeckel, that obtained a generation ago. Thus: "Professor Sellars (author of *Evolutionary Naturalism*) does not seem to realize that the ultimate difficulty of Materialism lies not in the *kind* of physical laws which it sets in absolute control of mind and of human behavior, but in the setting *any* physical laws in absolute control. Let matter be as highly evolved as you like, if its processes completely determine action, the efficiency of consciousness goes by the board" (pp. 45–6). (2) Those will not like this book who seek to avoid the faults of Naturalism by advocating the theory of Parallelism, the theory, that is, that bodily events and mental events flow parallel to

each other, but that there is between them no interchange of causal activity. This is held to leave unaccounted for many of the greatest and most obvious facts of human experience. "The parallelist must account for the evolution of the race as best he can without any help from consciousness. He must do the same for the advance of human civilization and for the productions and activities of individuals. . . . I submit that the proposition is so preposterous that unless we are shown more compelling reasons than the parallelist has as yet furnished, most of us will look further in the hope of finding a position which will demand of us a little less primitive credulity" (p. 88). (3) The Neo-Realists and the Behaviorists will not like this book, because it is a flat challenge of the truth of their claim that the "subjective" is nothing at all but a certain appearance of the "objective." The claim, if true, would mean that there was no longer a matter-and-spirit problem, since there was no difference between that which the two terms represented. Professor Pratt writes: "The question of the existence of consciousness seems hardly arguable. It must be settled by each man for himself." The real question is whether a man finds within his experience such things as *conscious* pains and pleasures, thought-processes and purposes. "I will hazard the guess that most of us . . . find *our* thought is of the old-fashioned conscious sort; although, if our behaviorist friends insist, it may be that courtesy will force us to accept their assertion that *their* thinking is really nothing more than the unconscious activity of the language mechanism" (pp. 128–9). (4) One other group that will not like this book is the Absolutist group, as may be inferred from the graphic picture, sketched above, of the prospective fate of the personal idealist, to say nothing of the remarks passed on the theories of Bosanquet and Clement J. Webb (pp. 205–7).

Professor Pratt is frankly and unblushingly a Dualist and an Interactionist. That is to say, he believes that the process of human experience is a dual process, involving at once a knower and a something known, a feeler and a something felt, a thinker and a something thought, in a word, a subject and an object. He absolutely refuses to reduce the one to a mere form of the other, or to make the one wholly independent of the other, or to destroy one of them to get rid of the difficulty of the problem of their relation. The difficulties of his own theory he by no means minimizes, but he deals with them courageously, and claims that they are less serious than the difficulties of other theories. He charges many sins to the account of nineteenth century Monism, both the earlier Idealistic and the later Naturalistic. He believes that Monism of either type is bad metaphysics, and that it is therefore no secure foundation for either ethics or religion. He claims that most of the great philosophers and all the great religions are dualistic, and he appeals earnestly to the world of to-day not to surrender its heritage through a thoughtless following of mistaken guides.

Those who have been disturbed by the pretentious claims of certain modern psychologists will find no better antidote than this little book. It might even be suggested that the said psychologists themselves could

do far worse than cease from their curious passion for destroying the values of life long enough to read this wholesome rebuke. To most of us, *cogito ergo sum* still seems good sense, but to write it *cogito ergo non sum*—well, if anyone insists on it, we must at least be courteous and accept his solemn asseveration of his non-existence, but in this free and enlightened republic courtesy has hardly yet reached so far as to require us to commit suicide.

EDWIN LEWIS.

Drew Theological Seminary.

The History of Utopian Thought. By JOYCE ORAMEL HERTZLER. Pp. 321. New York: The Macmillan Company, $3.

UTOPIAS are something more than mere literary curiosities; they are pictures framed by social idealists which, while never fully realized in actual life, have been high incentives to social progress. This work is probably the first full study of the social Utopias ever made and published. And, fortunately, it is the work of a socially minded man and one who dares to give nearly one third of his space to the ethico-religious utopians, such as the Hebrew prophets, the apocalyptists, and such Christian leaders as Augustine and Savonarola. The supreme place is given to Jesus' ideal of the kingdom of God. Of the program of our Lord, this teacher of sociology says: "It really is the doctrine of a true religion, since it is no mere emotional effervescence, or mystical ecstasy, or occult vaporing; nor is it a question of mechanical performances, ecclesiastical institutions, rituals, or creeds; but it is an affair of the soul; it is spiritual and ethical, and is based upon a simple, childlike communion with a beneficent and loving Father-God, and expresses itself in daily fraternity and service; it makes for happiness and peace and satisfying life for all humanity. It is a doctrine of optimism and hope, for it looks to the future, not to the past, to human possibilities and not miraculous occurrences, to the perfection of all and not to the glory of a remnant. As utopianism it stands without parallel."

Philosophers like Plato, Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon; Socialists, such as Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Robert Owen and others; littérateurs, who are pseudo-utopians, like Bellamy and H. G. Wells—all have tried to frame a pattern for a perfect society. Their plans perished but their ideas have persisted. Many were merely imaginative, some half mad, a few dreamy and fanciful; but these portrayed visions have helped to awaken deeper interest in social reform and higher hope of an improved social order. There is an enduring element in utopianistic thought. Humanity will always "follow the gleam." Sociology itself, as a science, owes much to these social dreamers.

Very important is the fact, here proven, that these social ideals have helped to shape the social theories of property which are remaking the present economic order. Still more vital from the ethical standpoint is the faith involved of man's mastery of things; he *can* remake the world. As Lester F. Ward wrote, "The environment transforms the animal; man

transforms the environment." This is the real key to civilization; it is an echo of the Pauline teaching, "the earnest expectation of creation awaiteth the manifestation of the sons of God."

These are but a few of the many contributions which Professor Hertzler, of the University of Wisconsin, has discovered in utopianism. But he also sees its limitations. For human society must never be a static fact; it is a kinetic activity; not a finished social achievement, but a growing social progress, is the need of the world.

It is a great delight for the religious man to read this scholarly treatise of a scientific sociologist, to whom there is nothing in social evolution which should not be in perfect accord with a divine philosophy of history. Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah have messages for every age and it is perfectly scientific to pray, "Thy kingdom come."

Human Australasia. By CHARLES FRANKLIN THWING. Pp. 270. New York: The Macmillan Company, $2.50.

AUSTRALIA and New Zealand are perhaps the final outpost of Anglo-Saxon civilization. It is a wonderful social and political experiment station. Dr. Thwing recently visited these countries and seems to have been able to accurately visualize the situation as to industry, education, morals, culture, and religion and to present in this volume the sifted facts, which are of great value to all nations, and especially to the one most closely related, the United States of America.

No people are more democratic than Australasians; yet labor leadership has not yet brought them social peace. Not "blocs" but a higher social morality can quiet unrest and secure industrial progress. In spite of the fact that 96 per cent of the Australian population are connected with churches, religious indifference seems prevalent. That is doubtless the result of the materialistic aims of a frontier society. (One wonders whether Christmas in midsummer and Easter in the fall had anything to do with lowering spiritual imagination.) Isolation, with the loss of community life, had much to do with it. Australia needs more religion. So do we all.

A charming chapter on "Poetry and Other Literature" reveals both the literary defects and promise of these Southern lands. The law and order standard of life there is of a high type, but gambling is very prevalent and harmful. The instinct of luck, the sporting temperament, is quite too prevalent. Nearly every one seems to love the atmosphere of financial peril and the courageous excitement of taking risks.

The "human product" in Australasia has reached a fine average, especially in action and fellowship. Yet life there attains both triumph and tragedy. All interested in international problems will find in this book much food for thought. The Australasian States, perhaps the purest in their possession of white blood, are a human experiment, whose contributions to civilization will be great.

FOUR BOOKS ON THE BIBLE

The Nature of Scripture. By A. S. Peake. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. Price, $2.

The Bible, Its Nature and Inspiration. By Edward Grubb. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.50.

The English Bible. By James S. Stevens. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.25.

A Literary Guide to the Bible. By Laura H. Wild. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.

Those who are interested to know how greatly critical scholarship has enriched the value of the Bible should read this volume by Professor Peake. No one is better qualified than this eminent Methodist scholar to point out the essential gains to spiritual religion through the acceptance of the modern view. These essays and addresses aim to present a conception of the spiritual grandeur of the Scriptures as a whole. It is superfluous to say that Dr. Peake has succeeded. This volume should be placed in the hands of inquiring laymen, so that its convincing message may become known everywhere throughout the church.

The excellent manual by Mr. Grubb is a concise introduction to the books of the Bible, with a description of their contents. There are also brief chapters on What is the Bible? The Canon, How the Books Were Written, Historical and Literary Criticism, Messianic Prophecy, The Meaning of Inspiration, The Authority of the Bible. Such a book is greatly needed, to remove misunderstanding and to establish in the faith those disturbed by what are mistakenly regarded as the undermining effects of critical learning, which, instead of being a foe of the Bible, is its best ally.

The argument for the influence of the Bible on English and American literature is well enforced by Professor Stevens. One chapter contains a collection of Scripture passages of recognized literary excellence. Other chapters give extensive quotations from poetry, oratory, the essay, the novel, to show how the thought and language of the English Bible have gone into the warp and woof of our literature. Prepared for use in schools and colleges, this excellent textbook will certainly stimulate a desire on the part of students to become better acquainted with the Bible, which is not only the great manual of religion, but also one of the unique treasures of our literature.

It is an erroneous assumption that the literary study of the Bible tends to diminish its value as the unequaled religious guide. The purpose of such study is rather to appreciate the types of literary expression in the Bible, and to recover for this masterpiece of literature a place by the side of other acknowledged productions of literary distinction. Professor Richard G. Moulton was a pioneer in this field, and his book, *The Literary Study of the Bible*, is still of the greatest suggestiveness. Miss Wild places the subject in a larger context. A comparison of the best in the literature of folk-lore, story-telling, history, poetry, drama, philosophy, oratory and the essay with that found in the Bible amply demonstrates that these types excel in the Scriptures.

Roosevelt's Religion. By CHRISTIAN F. REISNER. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $2.50.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT is one of the most picturesque characters in American history. He exercised an influence for civic righteousness and high patriotism, with indomitable courage and deep conviction. The secret of his noble career lay in his intense religious faith. Viscount Morley declared of Gladstone, that religion was the mainspring of his life. "Political life was only part of his religious life. It was religious motive, that, through a thousand avenues and channels, stirred him and guided him in his whole conception of active social duty" (*Life*, Vol. I, p. 200). He also quotes Lord Salisbury, who called Gladstone "a great Christian." These words could very appropriately be used of Roosevelt, who, more than any other of his contemporaries, kept alive the soul of America. Many volumes have already appeared about this great American, but Dr. Reisner's volume takes a place by itself. It was quite fitting that the religious aspect of his character should be given conspicuous attention. When it is further remembered that his religion was marked by the ethical passion of the Old Testament prophets and the spiritual zeal of the New Testament apostles, it is all the more seemly that this healthy type should be held up for imitation in these days of religious inertia and moral emptiness. Dr. Reisner has done his work right well, omitting no item of importance, and expounding, with the ability of full knowledge, an important aspect of virile Americanism.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Old Castle and Other Essays. By CALEB T. WINCHESTER. Pp. xviii + 395. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $3.

A Memorial to Caleb Thomas Winchester—1847-1920. Pp. 346. Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH, the Oxford Professor of English Literature, once remarked: "Of all the men I have met in America the most interesting was a man by the name of Winchester, from a place I never heard of called Wesleyan." Of all the appreciations applied to teachers, perhaps the rarest is the word "interesting." Not only as a man of charming personality and a most successful lecturer, but as a teacher of literature Professor Winchester was interesting. He made letters both a fascinating fact and a help to living; for being a keen critic of literary art and himself an artist, he never surrendered to that false maxim, "Art for art's sake."

One must regret his exceedingly limited production of books, but how precious are those few! *Some Principles of Literary Criticism, John Wesley, A Group of English Essayists, Wordsworth and How to Know Him*, etc. And at last there comes this crowning treasure, a collection of addresses and lectures not heretofore published, excepting three which appeared in the METHODIST REVIEW—those on Ruskin, Clough, and Bronson Alcott. These fifteen articles furnish entrancing pictures, not exclusively

from the literary standpoint, of three great periods in English letters: the Elizabethan Age, the Age of Queen Anne, and the Victorian Age.

The brilliant lecture, "The Old Castle" (delivered over three hundred times), finds in Ludlow Castle on the Welsh border, occupied by many Englishmen of notable memory, preeminently the Sydneys, a human center from which one comes in closest contact with those "spacious times." From it one gets more than a mere glimpse of the chivalrous Sir Philip Sydney and his charming sister Mary; William Herbert, the friend of Shakespeare; Sir Francis Drake and the mighty mariners who saw the Spanish Armada swept from the seas; Walter Raleigh, whose "life swept around the whole orbit of human endeavor"; Ben Jonson, Edmund Spenser, and later, John Milton, whose *Comus* was first rendered there. Accompanying this lecture are four Shakespearean essays, one of which, "Shakespeare, the Man," appeared in our last number.

For critical purposes, probably a first place should be given the two essays on "The Literature of the Age of Queen Anne," in which are ably described the characteristics of that age and vividly portrayed its politics, parties and persons. The hard and practical sense of this period, its scorn of enthusiasm and its political and social emphasis are so perfectly pictured that, like Winchester himself, we begin "to care more for the men than we care for their books." The central literary figure of this time, its most strenuous and original genius, is given fullest treatment in "The Life of Jonathan Swift." To this cynical misanthrope full and sincere credit is given. He is defended with ample proof from many of the gross charges made against him. Disappointment and disease help to explain his cold-blooded attitudes, too often misunderstood. Nowhere else in literature can this great writer be seen so sincerely and fully as in this essay of Professor Winchester.

Among the Victorian studies, most worthy of notice are those on Ruskin and Browning. Ruskin is envisaged "not merely as a brilliant erratic genius, but as one of the wisest teachers of his age and a master of English unsurpassed in any age." Proper stress is laid on Ruskin's social teaching. He may not have been a scientific sociologist, but he has mightily helped to put the ethical note into economic theory. Browning is praised, not as a great artist in verse, but as "the one poet who expressed the robust, unconquerable vigor of faith and hope that underlay all the shifting doubt of this restless age, the spiritual victor and hero in the poetry of the mid-nineteenth century."

Perhaps the "young intellectuals" of to-day will not appreciate all of Winchester's attitudes, but he could comprehend them far better than they, from their narrow range of erudition, can understand him. They and all the rest of us more traditional thinkers should read this book.

Professor Winchester was connected with Wesleyan University for fifty-five years, four years as student, three years as librarian, and for the rest of his life was connected with the department of English literature. That institution has honored him with a memorial volume full of biographical material and rich in tribute to him as a man, a friend, a teacher, and a master of literature.

The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus. By J. A. ROBERTSON. Pp. 288. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $2.25.

The Reality of Jesus. By J. H. CHAMBERS MACAULAY. Pp. xviii + 251. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.75 net.

The Consciousness of Jesus. By W. CHAPMAN. Pp. 128. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $1.25.

To be able to perceive and receive the mind of Christ is the greatest achievement of the human mind. Those who are able to enter with full sympathy into his inner experience will reach a conception of his divine personality which superficial rationalism cannot cloud. More than critical study of the Gospels is necessary: the historical method, joined to an idealistic psychology, is the necessary instrument which the spiritual imagination of our personal experience can use to gain this insight.

Dr. Robertson's book, which was published in England three years ago, is now placed on sale in America. No one has ever more penetratingly portrayed the consciousness of Jesus as revealed in the Gospel narration of his life and his teachings. We see the God-consciousness awakening in the Nazareth Boy and growing to a full self-disclosure within him of the Father's Will and Love. Then we behold his discovery and acceptance of the Divine Vocation which culminates in the Spirit of Expiation and the Apprehension of the Cross. These "Bruce Lectures" are more than theological, they are devotional literature. It is the life of our Lord as we see it developing in his own spirit. It is a spiritual biography, unfolding this truth: "The greatest spiritual fact that has ever emerged in the long story of the human race is Jesus of Nazareth's consciousness of God."

The Reality of Jesus is more a rhetorical book, but less profoundly interpretative. It is a brilliant work which deals in a more popular way with the same thesis as the former. "The Reality of Jesus in the religious consciousness of men is based on the facts of the experience of Jesus." Every fact in our Lord's life has its witness in Christian experience—birth, crucifixion and resurrection. Sometimes Mr. Macaulay is a little too modern, as when he says of the cross: "It creates no new fact in God, but it does create a new fact in the hearts of men." Was there nothing causal in the sacrifice of Christ that touched the Eternal Life as well as that of humanity? It was a Divine Experience as well as an act.

The Consciousness of Jesus is by a layman, an English business man, and is a somewhat more elementary study than the other two. That a member of a great commercial corporation, whose business reaches the whole world, beholds and believes in the coming of a Kingdom of Righteousness in which God is the Father-King is a vigorous answer to those who characterize such opinions as impractical and Utopian. Not a theologian, his scholarship is sufficient and his interpretation of the Gospels is flawless and his literary expression full of beauty. As a more elementary study this is fully equal to the Bruce Lectures of Professor Robertson. Surely such volumes as these three not only clarify our view of the Mind of Christ; they are proofs that the church of to-day is not losing but freshly discovering real religion.

Dust and Ashes of Empire. By W. A. Shelton. Pp. 272. Nashville: Lamar & Barton. Price, $1.50.

Doctor Shelton was a member of The American Scientific Mission which after the Great War made a scientific survey of many of the monumental ruins of the Near East, beginning with Egypt and continuing through Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Palestine. He is an erudite archæologist, but his book is not a technical treatise but one which the scholar can appreciate and the unlearned enjoy. All Christians will be interested in the fact that he specializes on the places and monuments which illustrate and confirm the biblical history. This is done with a thorough orthodoxy but no dogmatic bigotry. It is a pleasure to visit the homeland of Abraham, follow the trail of Moses and walk the highways of Palestine with our Lord. To get the historical background and the geographical setting of the Bible, touched with the charm of imagination and the fire of romance, is to greatly help in its interpretation. The book contains many excellent illustrations.

The Shepherd Prince. A Historical Romance of the Days of Isaiah. By Abraham Mapu. Translated from the Hebrew by Benjamin A. M. Schapiro. Pp. 380. New York: Schapiro, 83 Bible House, Astor Place. Price, $2.50.

This is considered by many the greatest novel ever written in the Hebrew tongue. It is a remarkable romance, told in language like that of the Bible. There was never a more perilous period in Hebrew history than the age of Assyrian invasion and the rise of literary prophecy. This story we dare not tell; that would diminish its interest to the reader; it is tragic, even melodramatic, containing both a love idyl and a love tragedy. It is a noble bit of prose poetry. And it also contains poetic passages like this:

> "Crowns wrought of gold and many a precious stone
> The brows of kings adorn, of princes press;
> Wild roses are the shepherd's crown alone
> With which he decks the chosen shepherdess."

The translation must be almost perfect, for it reads as perfectly as an original writing. There is no better approach to history than the historical novel. Here is a remarkable type of that sort of fiction.

Three Dissenting Divines

The Story of a Varied Life. An Autobiography by W. S. Rainsford. Pp. 481. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. $5.00.

The Confessions of an Old Priest. By S. D. McConnell. Pp. 125. New York: Macmillan Co. $1.25.

How I Lost My Job as Preacher. By J. D. M. Buckner. New York: C. V. Howard. (31 Nassau St.) 50 cents.

These men whose ministry has extended to between forty and fifty

years, all three of whom began as intense evangelicals and ended as liberals, have put in print the story of their doctrinal development. Two of them, Rainsford and Buckner, seem to be red-bloodedly human; the other is afflicted with ice water in his veins.

It was perhaps a misfortune to all three of these preachers that the ultra-orthodoxy of their early training did not have a broad enough background. They were taught to identify doctrinal truth with certain arbitrary statements, so of course, the new wine of their growing beliefs burst the old bottles of dogmatic confessions. They did not perceive, and unfortunately their blindness is shared by many others, that there are very few of the teachings of the historic Catholic creeds that are not capable of statement in the terms of modern thought. Heresy has always been useful as a criticism of dogma and helps in its restatement, but heretical teachings are fruitless, while the vital historic beliefs of Christianity are growing truths that center in an enlarging vision of Jesus Christ.

The story of Rainsford's varied life is very interesting; he is rather garrulous, but one enjoys his tangled wilderness of words. One thing he possesses, the passion for saving folks, a passion both individual and social in its objective. It came to him from his father, an earnest revivalist in the Anglican Church, and although it developed into a social evangelism, his doctrinal drifting never destroyed it. As a missioner he brought thousands of souls to the altar of the church and developed St. George's Church, New York city, into an institutional church with far-reaching influence. His democratic spirit started a widespread abolition of the pew system, not only in his own but other denominations. One is delighted to see how bravely and yet amicably, this socially minded man could work with J. Pierpont Morgan, his senior warden, capitalist and aristocrat. As to his changes in belief he thinks he found "a larger and a lovelier God."

Dr. McConnell is far more of an intellectualist than Rainsford, and it is just this rationalistic attitude that loosened his grip on Christianity in its wholeness. A more practical and less speculative philosophy would have saved him. He seems to have lost well nigh all his religion. He interprets the evolutionary formula most narrowly. Many others do, but here are some illuminating questions. Suppose man did come from an animal, is he therefore subject to the psychic and ethical limitations of a beast? If sight is derived from general sense, can the eyes not tell us more than touch of the outer world? If some of our religious ceremonies had a beginning in pagan rites, do they therefore mean no more than does a cannibal feast? If Dr. McConnell would read over again C. J. Wood's *Survivals in Christianity*, which he uses as a reference book, it would knock out much of his reckless skepticism.

Brother Buckner is a vigorous man, evidently sincere and honest, if not always discreet. Every moral man should agree with the conclusions of his pamphlet on "A Good God," but most would reach them by a rather different route. For nearly every statement is a destructive attack on the Old Testament narrative rather than the constructive

method of finding all of God in Jesus Christ. Buckner appears to have been fairly efficient as a pastor, a fine fighter for moral reforms, a virile but rather rugged personality. Doubtless this militant type of manhood does by its dauntless debating methods cause embarrassment to the appointing power in Methodism. There are other means of steering congregations into less bigoted and more sane spiritual convictions, ways that would be more successful in their results. While this combative parson may have been unwise in his ministerial methods, it is very unfortunate both for him and for Methodism that some more delicate diplomacy could not have been discovered for the solution of the problem. While surely the majority of those who voted for his retirement were convinced that it was the most generous action that could be taken, the startling effect of their vote reveals that they were mistaken. This is not intended as an opinion on the legal questions raised of judicial rights—that is another issue which has nothing to do with orthodoxy.

One conclusion follows the study of these three stories of the minister's mental transformations. All three would have been saved from recusancy if their philosophy of life had been more pragmatic, and if their theological education had been less one-sided. All three deserve praise for their fruitful ministry and their intellectual honesty. But we should save our younger ministry of to-day from the perils of doctrinal drift by broader culture and still more by intensifying religious experience and enlarging the spiritual program of the church.

The Church in America. A Study of the Present Condition and Future Prospects of American Protestantism. By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $3.

THIS is a most satisfying book as to the spirit of the writer, the clear diagnosis of the situation, and the optimistic outlook. Professor Brown came to his task after wide experience as one of the leading members of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, which has already published four valuable reports, with another, on the teaching function of the church, in the press. His knowledge of Protestant thought and activity is, moreover, quite extensive, as his numerous volumes so amply testify. He is at once an eminent theologian and an earnest churchman. He combines a deep interest in theological thought with an equally keen concern in the practical applications of Christianity toward the solution of economic and other questions. He recognizes the weaknesses of institutional Protestantism and rightly scores the limitations due to provincialism, individualism, and denominationalism. He is also aware that these characteristics gave strength to traditional Protestantism, although they are incapable of meeting the needs of the present day. This volume is therefore a valuable contribution, with suggestions that look toward a better *rapprochement* to the modern situation.

The fact is that what Protestantism most sorely needs is to become possessed of the church consciousness. This will give us a sense of the church as a spiritual society more than as an ecclesiastical institution.

The call then is, "to determine what should be the function of the church in our democratic society and to come to a definite understanding as to the ways in which the existing churches can best cooperate in seeing that this function is adequately discharged" (p. viii). The volume is divided into five parts, entitled "Facing the Facts," "Where to Begin," "Defining the Ideal," "Organizing for Work," "Training for To-morrow," and a "Conclusion," that summarizes the exhaustive findings.

Dr. Brown is right in stating that criticism must be replaced by construction (p. 143). His own book is a fine instance of how this might be best done. He makes a timely plea for the minister, who should be given greater freedom for the specific work that he alone could do (p. 221). He is none too forceful in insisting that "the pulpit must resume its teaching office, too long neglected in Protestantism" (p. 228). Chapter XV, on "Finding and Training Leaders," touches the crux of the whole question. The thought is further developed in the next chapter, on "Thinking Together." This does not necessarily mean thinking alike, but rather a concentration of thought on things that most matter, so as to have a comprehensive view of life as a whole, giving us an open mind and a hospitable spirit, that shall welcome new ideas, even though they may go counter to what has always been accepted. C. Silvester Horne once pungently remarked that the difference between a groove and a grave is one of depth. This book will help us to get out of the groove and to emancipate us from obsessions, so that we may be enabled to seize the world-wide opportunities now fronting the church, to serve humanity, in the name and spirit of the Christ of our redemption.

The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion. By Sir James George Frazer, F.R.S., D.C.L., F.B.A. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $5.

It was no small feat to abridge the twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough* within the compass of a single volume and at the same time retain all the notable features of the larger work. Those who have consulted the original library—no other name could be given to these impressive tomes—are well aware of the prodigious learning and amazing research of the author. Sir James Frazer has been an eager student, ready to welcome facts and to consider them on their merits. He, however, states that the evidence which has come to him since the last edition has, "on the whole, served either to confirm my former conclusions or to furnish fresh illustrations of old principles." It is therefore gratifying to have this treasure house of legends, myths, and superstitions open to us through the short cut of an abridged edition, which omits nothing of importance except the notes and references.

The argument of this far-reaching investigation is based on the weird legend of the "King of the Wood." He was a runaway slave who served Diana's shrine in the grove at Aricia. This grim figure held office until he in turn was slain by one stronger or craftier. From this starting point, Dr. Frazer travels in various directions, through all the centuries

and in every land, so to say, to discover the controlling impulses of human life. How significant is the fact that the ancients lived in a world of fear! If they escaped the fire, it was to fall by the sword. The complicated ceremonials of propitiation, the stern and sinister superstitions, the crude but serious efforts involving sacrifice and bloodshed, the pain, loss, and misery that overwhelmed the majority of mankind—what a story of travail and deliverance! Indeed, there is nothing more captivating in all the annals of human life than the narrative of the pilgrimage of the soul, in the ascent from savagery and superstition to civilization and truth, through darkness toward light.

Nowhere is all this set forth with a greater wealth of detail and the learned exposition of theories and facts than in the pages of *The Golden Bough*. The theories will doubtless be altered to harmonize with increased knowledge, but the facts would, by the same process, receive confirmation. No one is more aware of this than the author himself, who acknowledges that, "the advance of knowledge is an infinite progression toward a goal that for ever recedes." It is an endless pursuit, with this consolation that every step forward leads to more light and truth. Disagree as we may with the author's conclusions, the fact remains that his investigations have done much to give dignity to the persistent quest of the human soul for God and peace.

It is superfluous to eulogize a work that has profoundly influenced the attitude of the thinking mind toward supernatural beliefs and symbolical rituals. Dr. Frazer does not subscribe to the tenets of Christianity, nor does he obtrude his personal opinions on questions that belong outside the realm of science. He is nevertheless aware of the solemnity of the issues of religion and he gives them the supreme importance they justly merit, furnishing data of real value to be used by Christian scholars in the fuller exposition of our holy Faith.

The study of anthropology, in common with that of comparative religion, does not dim the luster of Christianity, but rather makes brighter its unique light. The knowledge that certain doctrines of Christianity, such as the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, the Atonement, the Resurrection, are found in the ethnic religions need not lead us to the conclusion that there was borrowing of one from the other, nor should the fact of coincidences tend to depreciate or discredit the supernatural in Christianity. These are rather proofs of the apostle's argument that God left not himself without witness in any nation. (Acts 14. 17.) As we compare the content of these faiths, it will be seen that the postulate of theism explains what is distinctive and sublime in Christianity. On the basis of this truth, we could accept the findings of the anthropologist and appreciate all the more the Christian extra which puts our religion in a place peculiarly its own. As Dr. Frazer himself reminds us: "In all things the old maxim will hold good—*magna est veritas et prævalebit.*"

The lucidity of style and the fine balancing of sentences constrain one to quote many passages, which, apart from the argument, are illustrations of magnificent writing. This is not the least important feature of a learned work which will stand the test of time. One quotation from the

closing chapter must be given: "Without dipping so far into the future, we may illustrate the course which thought has hitherto run by likening it to a web woven of three different threads—the black thread of magic, the red thread of religion, and the white thread of science, if under science we may include those simple truths, drawn from observation of nature, of which men in all ages have possessed a store. . . . What will be the color of the web which the Fates are now weaving on the humming loom of time? Will it be white or red? We cannot tell. A faint glimmering light illumines the backward portion of the web. Clouds and thick darkness hide the other end." So far the anthropologist. It is now for the Christian thinker to take up the tale and bring it to its legitimate conclusion in Christ, who sums up all things, and gives the definite answer to every question that pertains to duty and destiny.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Roget's International Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. Edited by C. O. SYLVESTER MAWSON. Pp. xxxiv, 741. (Crowell, $3.00.) This is not merely a new edition of Roget's *Thesaurus;* it is an entirely new cyclopedia of synonyms and antonyms, based upon that masterly work. The additions more than double its value. Every speaker or writer, however large his vocabulary, will enrich his style by keeping on his desk and constantly consulting this unrivaled handbook of English speech. It is more than a word treasury; it is a linguistic textbook whose groupings of words and phrases and opulence of material afford the means of a liberal education to every one using it. Roget has always been without a rival as the enricher of literary diction, but Mawson has lifted his celebrated work to a far higher level of superexcellence. Indeed, nothing but superlatives can adequately characterize this fascinating book of reference.

The Place of Books in the Life We Live. By WILLIAM L. STIDGER. (Doran, $1.25.) No Christian minister is doing bigger work in literary propaganda than Dr. Stidger. And he turns it into real religious evangelism. Books do let light into life and still more, to use one of the chapter titles of this, his last work, they help in "Keeping the Soul of the World Alive." His chapter on "The Lincoln Trilogy of Literature," which appeared as an article in the January-February, 1923, issue of the METHODIST REVIEW, will give our readers a fair sample. There has been a decline in book reading in the last generation, causing a real intellectual famine. John Wesley and all the early Methodist preachers made it a part of their mission to put books into homes. The modern minister will aid both culture and piety if he revives, as Dr. Stidger has, in his church and through his books, greatly exalted this ministry to the minds of men.

An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. By J. N. FARQUHAR, D.Litt. (Oxford University Press, $3.50.) Hinduism is an elastic term.

It comprehends the spiritual aspirations of the Vedas, the philosophical speculations of the Upanishads and the tangled complex of popular Hindu religion with its numerous sects and cults, gross superstitions, and caste tyrannies. He who would understand the soul of India must be familiar with its extensive literature; but since a first-hand knowledge of it is impossible to most of us, we have in Dr. Farquhar a reliable guide. His previous volume, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, was a masterpiece. Its survey began with the year 1800. The present volume goes back to the earliest times and comes down to 1800. It begins with the contributions of early Vedic religion and follows the devious paths influenced by Buddhism, Jainism, Saktism, Islamism, and other systems, which found expression in the great epics and the numerous devotional (Bhakti), philosophical, and ritualistic writings down to the eighteenth century. This notable survey bears impressive testimony to the intense religious spirit of India. It should be studied by all interested in the evangelization of the millions in this land, today racked with birth-pangs.

The Social Message of the Book of Revelation. By RAYMOND CALKINS. (Womans Press, $1.50.) Those who are more concerned in Christianizing the present social order than in speculating about times and seasons will welcome this suggestive volume on the permanent teaching of the Apocalypse concerning our inescapable obligations as Christians and church members.

Prayers of Frank W. Gunsaulus. (Revell, $1.25.) In his Yale lectures on *The Minister and the Spiritual Life*, Dr. Gunsaulus said: "A true man's prayer is a manifestation of humanity at its truest; it is one of the most appealing revelations of the truth itself" (p. 304). This is an apt characterization of his own pulpit prayers contained in this volume. They reveal a heart possessed of the divine peace, a spirit of passionate earnestness, a life in deepest fellowship with God and in closest comradeship with mankind.

The Pilgrim. By T. R. GLOVER. (Doran, $1.75.) These essays on religion are fertile in suggestiveness, bringing out new meanings of familiar themes and making surprising discoveries of truth where the field had apparently been exhausted. Dr. Glover's intimate knowledge of the classics helps him to illustrate his arguments with unusual aptness. The thirteen essays are on a variety of themes, but every single one commands attention.

An Introduction to the Study of Some Living Religions of the East. By SYDNEY CAVE, D.D. (Scribners, $1.75.) The somewhat lengthy title of this book is, however, an apt description of its contents. Dr. Cave served as a missionary in India and what he has written in these five chapters bears marks of wide experience and deep knowledge. It is in many respects the best introduction to Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, the Religions of China and Japan, and Islam. The work is carefully done even to the accurate transliteration of words, which gives

proof of the conscientious scholar and the sympathetic interpreter of the ethnic religions. A knowledge of these faiths, as found in this volume, will help to a deeper appreciation of the adequacy of Christianity for every human need.

When You Enlist. By MARGARET SLATTERY. (Pilgrim Press, 75c.) Miss Slattery's books are all guideposts for young people. In this latest volume she passes in rapid review the work done by the men and women of the church during the centuries, in such a way as to challenge the faith and loyalty of young people at that critical time when they join the church. No better book could be placed in the hands of such folk.

The Book of Job. By MOSES BUTTENWIESER, Ph.D. (Macmillan, $4.) Without a doubt the standard work on the book of Job is the Driver–Gray commentary, but there is always room for another volume. These two writers place the book in the fifth century, while Dr. Buttenwieser dates it about 400 B. C. He argues that the purpose of this unknown author was to present an argument for disinterested piety or love of virtue for virtue's sake, apart from any question of reward or retribution. We, however, hesitate to follow the radical transpositions of text suggested by Dr. Buttenwieser, in spite of his claims to having made independent discoveries in the Greek version. The volume is, however, a valuable contribution toward a better understanding of what is justly regarded as the greatest piece of Old Testament literature.

The Oracles of God. By W. E. ORCHARD, D.D. (Pilgrim Press, $2.25.) In these studies Dr. Orchard focuses attention on the personality and messages of those intrepid preachers of Israel known as the minor prophets. This unfortunate description has led many to regard their preachments as of lesser importance than the major prophets. They were in the direct line of the divine revelation and contributed toward a solution of the religious and social problems still baffling us. There is suggestive material in this volume for a fine series of sermons.

The Meaning of Paul for To-day. By C. HAROLD DODD. (Doran, $2.) Every attempt to disparage the apostle Paul only results in making more conspicuous the vital interpretation of Christianity made by this Christ-intoxicated man. The renewed study of his thought cannot fail to quicken the activities of the church. Professor Dodd has seized the essential message of the apostle, based as it was on his profound experience of Christ, which gave him a religious philosophy of life and provided for the establishment and extension of the divine commonwealth through the church. This is a book of rare insight and unusual ability. It is one of the richest expositions of the teaching of Paul, who still speaks with his wonted persuasiveness.

Psychology and the Christian Life. By T. W. PYM, D.S.O. (Doran, $1.50.) The erratic extravagances of psycho-analysis receive a timely criticism in this volume. Mr. Pym follows Coué and Baudouin, but he

recognizes their defects due to their imperfect conception of faith. "The chief 'miracle' in the life of Jesus, for which I stand and from which I approach the present study of his life, is his complete sinlessness." This confession is substantiated in the chapters on "The Psychology of Jesus." Here, as elsewhere throughout this stimulating volume, there are apt applications of the findings of psychology to Christian faith and ethics, of a kind welcome to those engaged in the cure of souls.

The Deeper Meaning of Stewardship. By JOHN M. VERSTEEG. (Abingdon Press, $1.25.) This is the most sensible book on the subject. It is free from special pleading and without the ingenious attempts to press points that blunt the edge of the larger argument. The central issue is that of personality. We should first emphasize the expression of life before stressing the expansion of the work. The discussion of the tithe is particularly wholesome. The whole question of personal responsibility is based on the balanced conception of Christian values. If the message of this book could be conveyed to the pew through the pulpit, it would do much to place the task of the church on a stable foundation and to secure results that will make glad the City of God.

Theosophy and Christian Thought. By W. S. URQUHART, Litt.D. (Pilgrim Press, $2.25.) Dr. Urquhart's previous volume on *Pantheism and the Value of Life* demonstrated his ability to deal with questions on the borderland of philosophy and religion. The present discussion of the weakness and strength of Theosophy also throws light on occultism, spiritualism, and kindred phenomena, and keenly estimates the crude thinking of those whose knowledge of Christianity is pathetically imperfect. It is these latter who have been recruited into the ranks of Theosophy and other erratic cults. Dr. Urquhart rightly observes that "Theosophy challenges us to make the most of our religious inheritance." Not the least valuable portions of the volume contain suggestions on how to evaluate the essential truths of Christianity. This is the task of the preacher and in these pages he will find much helpful material.

Preaching by a Layman. By OZORA S. DAVIS. Pp. 203 (Revell, $1.50). Thousands of our laymen can and should preach, not as licensed local preachers but as laymen. It is a witnessing church that will save the world. Dr. Davis has furnished a handbook for the lay preacher which even the clergy will find worth while as a homiletic treatise. It explains preparation for preaching, the use of the Bible, the gathering of material, sermon methods and structure, illustrations, style, delivery, etc. One chapter we all might well read and practice, "Prayer and Preaching." The biggest job of the preacher is making his members into evangelists. The richest development of the layman's religious life will come from his own proclamation of the gospel message. And he will find more delight in it than even in speech-making at a Rotarian luncheon. "Jesus commands us to preach the Gospel; every follower of the Master is a soldier under orders. We have no choice; we must obey."

He Opened to Us the Scriptures. By BENJAMIN W. BACON. Pp. 116. (Macmillans, $1.) Our Lord did not use the Scriptures like the scribes of his day nor the literalists of ours. His method was spiritual and not scientific. Both he and his greatest interpreter, Paul, found in the sacred writings not a static but a dynamic inspiration. Their method of approach is a lesson for our times. The modern historic-critical study, which is applied to all literature as well as the Bible, cannot destroy these religious values; it releases them. Professor Bacon is a celebrated biblical critic, but he is more, a truly prophetic interpreter of the Holy Book. New light will break forth to us from the Word of God if we follow the method of Jesus and Paul as disclosed by this very able little volume.

FLASHLIGHTS ON CURRENT LITERATURE

(The more important of these works may be fully reviewed hereafter.)

Chapel Talks. By JOHN CARLISLE KILGO. Pp. 173. (Lamar & Barton, $1.25.) Very stimulating short speeches to students by Bishop Kilgo when President of Trinity College.

Messages from Master Minds. By J. W. G. WARD. Pp. 310. (Doran, $1.50.) Spiritual interpretations of English literature, mostly Victorian—quite rich material for sermon or speech making.

Night-Scenes of Scripture. By NORMAN MACLEOD CAIE. Pp. 199. (Doran, $1.25.) Very glowing short sermons by a most popular Scotch preacher.

The Shining Highway. By E. C. MILES. Pp. 127. (Pilgrim Press, $1.25.) Life is a path with a goal and this book with originality discusses the problems of the road.

Builders of the Kingdom. By HOWARD M. LESOURD. Pp. 100. (Methodist Book Concern, 75c.) An excellent outline of the opportunities for life service. Every young person can see in these pages some open portal to both vocation and avocation.

The Meaning of Life. By A. EDWIN KEIGWIN. Pp. 260. (Doran, $1.50.) Useful talks on life problems.

Essays and Miscellanies. By JOSEPH S. AUERBACH. Pp. 341. (Harpers.) A third volume of essays of quite high order, excepting a sophistical defense of that rotten book, *The Genius*, by Theodore Dreiser.

Piney Woods and its Story. By LAWRENCE C. JONES. Pp. 151. (Revell, $1.25.) A Negro teacher tells the story of his school and furnishes a valuable human document on a vital problem.

Recreational Leadership. By WARREN T. POWELL. Pp. 163. (Methodist Book Concern, 80c.) *A Handbook of Games and Programs.* By WILLIAM RALPH LAPORTE. Pp. 125. (Abingdon Press, $1.) These two books, together with Norman Richardson's *Church at Play,* furnish rich material for the modern community church in its social program.

The Magyars in America. By D. A. SOUDERS. Pp. 149. (Doran, $1.) Illuminating studies of a remarkable race.

Saint Mark's Life of Jesus. By THEODORE H. ROBINSON. Pp. 134. (Doran, $1.75.) Not a conventional commentary, but an interpretation both simple and scholarly of the most realistic of the four Gospels.

Bible Stories in Bible Language. By LOUISA MUNSON BRYANT. Pp. 327. (Appletons, $2.) Very well edited, but not so complete as Kent's *The Children's Bible.*

Common Sense in Religion. By FRANK E. WILSON. Pp. 167. (Macmillans, $1.50.) "What's it good for?"—that's the pragmatic test that will help the modern man to value religion rightly—church, Bible, Creed, prayer, sacraments, doctrines, etc.

Religious Foundations. Edited by RUFUS M. JONES. Pp. 144. (Macmillans, $1.) Eight distinguished English and American writers interpret in modern terms the central problems of religion. Very concise and able.

Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. By Professors JAMES S. RIGGS and H. L. REED. Pp. 314. (Macmillans, $1.60.) A popular commentary which does not dodge difficult problems. That early church has great lessons for to-day. Specially good for teachers.

Midst Volcanic Fires. By MAURICE FRATER. Pp. 288. (Pilgrim Press, $2.25.) Quite as alluring and more moral than Frederick O'Brien's South Sea island stuff. And a mighty missionary message besides.

Old Testament History. By FRANK K. SANDERS. Pp. 158. (Scribners, $1.25.) Brief but readable introduction to Bible history, complete, trustworthy and well balanced.

Jesus' Ideals of Living. By G. WALTER FISKE. Pp. 284. (Abingdon Press, $1.50.) An excellent textbook on Christian ethics for Bible classes, specially emphasizing the religion of youth. Finely illustrated.

Organization and Administration of Religious Education. By JOHN ELBERT STOUT. Pp. 287. (Abingdon Press, $1.50.) A quite essential handbook for use in developing the educational function of the church, the topmost task of to-day.

A READING COURSE

Man and the Attainment of Immortality. By James Y. Simpson, M.A., D.Sc. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.25, net.

When *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, by Dr. Simpson, appeared in 1912, it was at once recognized that the mantle of Henry Drummond had fallen on his successor, as Professor of Natural Science, New College, Edinburgh. This book presents in an attractive and convincing way the argument that religion and science are complementary and not antithetic. "Science is concerned with the order of events in causal association with similar events; religion considers events in their infinite relation to the sum total of events" (p. 34). He maintains that evolution is "a process of continuous, orderly and broadly progressive changes, from the simple to the more complex, which arises as the resultant of various factors, operating from within and from without" (p. 128). He further points out that "Religious thought leads us to the conception of the World Principle immanent and transcendent as personal" (p. 295). A brief concluding chapter on "Evolution and Immortality" left us wishing that this aspect of the subject had received fuller treatment.

Our desires are now more than gratified. After ten years of careful reflection, Dr. Simpson has at last published the sequel to his first volume. Here he focuses the thought on Immortality with a firm grasp of the issues. Such a book has a most timely message, not only because the thoughts of many are earnestly exercised in seeking light, but also because we are being confused by "half-truths which are often in their results more direful than a genuine misstatement." It means a great deal for a man of the scientific accomplishments of Dr. Simpson to consider the bearing of evolution on religion, with a clear understanding of all that is implied, and in a spirit at once religious and scientific. If those who have been perplexed by recent utterances would make a study of this volume, their minds would be clarified and their religious devotion greatly deepened. The book is of special value to preachers.

In this synthetic view of the world process, a differentiation is made between relative values, and the emphasis is rightly placed on man's religious instinct, reaching its fullest expression in fellowship with Jesus Christ. He pleads for a unity of knowledge that would give us a bold conception of the whole and enable us to realize that this world is God's world, for all life is closely related. It is the failure of theology to do this that has made its arguments so ineffective to modern men of thought. "Theology to be of real service, must in some degree be a knowledge of the world as an expression of God, and of Him as energizing in and through it" (p. 8). It is surely gratifying to have a man of science recognize that theology should yet continue to be *scientia scientiarum*. These and kindred topics are discussed in the Introduction. Read it over several times and master the leading principles before you go further. Note what is said of the spiritual aspect of evolution. Instead of giving the death-blow to teleology it has given us a grander teleology that embraces the organic and the inorganic in one connected whole

(p. 22). As we realize that man is the product of an evolutionary process in mind, spirit and body, we shall understand his possibilities, in the light of the Incarnation of Christ (p. 26).

Unless you have had a special training in science, it may be difficult to understand the technical terms. There was no other alternative, since the subject had to be considered in its scientific aspects. It would further have interfered with the line of thought, if the author had stopped to explain such words as Simiidæ, Pleistocene, Miocene, Mousterian, Solutrean and a dozen others. The general trend of the argument can, however, be followed, and the conclusions appreciated, which have a cumulative force in the latter part of the book. The illustrations and diagrams help towards simplifying the discussion. Chapter II, on "Man's Place in Nature," concludes with a series of distinctions between man and the rest of the animal creation, which demonstrate that, "it is in his spiritual rather than his physical nature, however derived, that man's real significance lies" (p. 46). It is this emphasis on the spiritual qualities of man that lends such distinction to this and the following chapters on "The Antiquity of Man," "The Origin of Man," "Palæolithic Man," "Mesolithic and Neolithic Man." Indeed, the whole story reads like a romance. Note what is said on the Genesis account of the Creation and that found in Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek mythologies, and the reason for the marked distinction of the Scripture version (p. 88).

In *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, there is a chapter on "Some Sociological Aspects of Heredity," which apparently turns aside from the main argument, but it nevertheless enables us to receive a clearer idea of the problem of responsibility. In the present book, the chapter on "The Place and Function of Nationality" may not seem to be quite relevant to the discussion, yet it throws much light on questions of race and nationalism with a grasp of the entire situation that is lacking in Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* and similar discussions. I have nowhere seen a better exposition of this crucial question, that bears so directly on the destiny of men and of nations. "As a matter of fact, few races of living beings are more mongrel than that of mankind to-day" (p. 181). It may not flatter us to be told that, "It is not generally realized how relatively small is the part played by reason in the lives and activities of mankind even to-day. The integrating factors in all animal societies are instincts, and in man—the bondman in process of winning freedom—instinct is still more universal and powerful than reason" (p. 191). Can you illustrate this from your own observations? This chapter is hard to surpass in clarity of thought and historical knowledge. You will find in it material for more than one sermon.

Chapter IX, on "The Evolution of Individuality," brings out the truth that "throughout the animal kingdom as a whole there is no physical basis for a conception of *in*dividuality" (p. 212). Since no nations or states, as such, have immortality, the vital issue rests with the individual life in relationship with God. Before getting to the central theme, we must first read two chapters on "The Method of Evolution" and "Evolution as the Winning of Freedom." Dr. Simpson regards

environment as playing the major rôle and he does not sufficiently reckon with the no less effectual influence of Heredity (p. 225). In making so much of environment, he doubtless has in mind the truth that God is the environment of the soul. The failure to realize the God consciousness is due to sin, on which there are some searching remarks (p. 253, 271ff.). Have we then to go to the scientist and the novelist for a fearless study of sin? If that be the case, let the preacher do so and learn how to treat this dark feature of life. The appearance of Christ is regarded as the most signal event in human history. His direction of human life through his unique revelation of the Divine Love is the most outstanding fact during nearly two thousand years (p. 258).

Chapter XII, on "God and the World," opens with a discussion of Special Creation, which is shown to be less satisfactory than the explanation of the growing number of stages in terms of evolution. To be sure, there are gaps in the evolutionary history, but a strong case is made out for the evolution of mind as the result of the activities of a world-ground or a self-determining mind, which a self-consistent Theism calls God. Note what is said on self-limitation of God in creation, due to the Divine Love (p. 270). "Duration is characteristic of that which is becoming, of the process, of God as Immanent. The activity of God as Transcendent is internal, within Himself, or with the spirits of just men made perfect, for the meaning of communion is activity without change." Out of these two truths there emerges a third concerning the Divine Personality.

A distinction is made between inherent immortality and potential immortality (pp. 232, 284). To say that man is "immortable rather than immortal," may seem like straining a point. The thought of the author is that human individuality is capable of a higher responsiveness, "to enter into relationship with that Power which, by its characteristics, revealed in the world process, we are driven to think of as God." It is in the measure in which this union is experienced that man realizes his immortality. The contrast between the way of life and the way of death is most impressively set forth. The need for an immediate choice is urged with all the impelling urgency of the New Testament. "Nothing so robs life of its tremendous seriousness and meaning, reducing it to the level of a marionette-show, and belittling man's fateful capacity to choose life or death, as the amiable outlook of Universalism" (p. 284).

We cannot accept the author's view of Conditional Immortality, for the tenor of the Scriptures is against it, and it contradicts the persistence of the holy love of God, about which Dr. Simpson has written so well. This much must be said, that it is in closer accord with the selective principle of evolution than with the undiscriminating view of Universalism, which fails to see that if a man can make his life he also can unmake it, and which evades the urgent appeal, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great a salvation?" (Hebrews 2. 3). Compare E. Griffith-Jones' *Faith and Immortality*, and H. R. MacKintosh' *Immortality and the Future*, for capable criticisms of Conditional Immortality.

The last chapter, on "The Historic Jesus and the Cosmic Christ," is

worth the price of the book. The truths of the Virgin Birth, the Incarnation and the Resurrection are expounded, with reference to evolution, in a way that is doubly convincing. In the case of Jesus, "the ordinary canons of analogy and correlation fail. There is something here that has never been known before, something about which we can say—just because we understand the world process so much better—that it will never, in that particular form, be known again" (p. 307). In Jesus, we have a unique achievement as to his relationship to God and his perfect manhood. His coming, at the fullness of the times, "was no more and no less a 'special intervention' than the appearance of life, or self-consciousness, or any of the other big lifts in the cosmic process" (p. 311). When we remember that "the process of Nature from the side of the Divine intention has been throughout a process of grace," we could understand that everything about Jesus was unique, both as Revealer of God and the Reconciler making men at one with God (p. 318). In the light of the divine grace, the Incarnation, which is the central fact of the world's history, "becomes not so much a defeat as a relief, not so much a humiliation as an inspiration, not so much an exception as a perfection" (p. 328). The Gospel of Redemption is thus of the very essence of progress. What is said of the Virgin Birth makes the denial of this vital truth so insipid in comparison (p. 304, 319ff, 323). Those who are nearest to Jesus feel closest to God. With this conclusion we take our leave of one of the most stimulating discussions of Immortality.

SIDE READING

Matter and Spirit. By JAMES BISSETT PRATT (Macmillan, $1.50). This book deals with the subject of immortality from the standpoint of psychology. Those who are interested in the idealistic interpretation of life, which conserves the value of the soul, will find in these pages of stiff reading, arguments to establish their faith on rational and spiritual foundations.

Religion and Biology. By ERNEST E. UNWIN (Doran, $1.75). From the standpoint of biological evolution, this treatise excellently supplements Professor Simpson, and demonstrates that the end or purpose of life is attained through the cooperation of God and man in Jesus Christ.

Religion and the Future Life. Edited by E. HERSHEY SNEATH (Revell, $3). These twelve essays study the belief in life after death, from the standpoint of Comparative Religion. A mass of evidence is here gathered by eminent specialists, and their conclusions make assurance doubly sure.

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